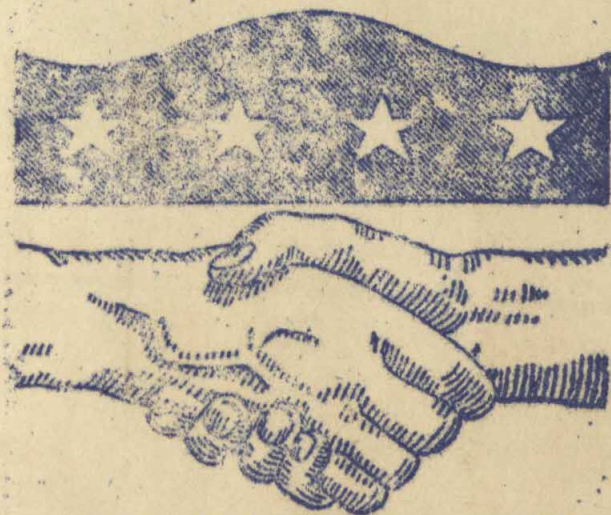
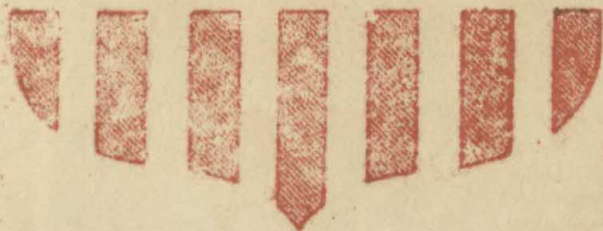




UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



HARPER'S EMERSON SERIES IN EDUCATION

**RURAL EDUCATION:
COMMUNITY BACKGROUNDS**



HARPER'S EXPLORATION SERIES IN EDUCATION

...

Under the Advisory Editorship of

JOHN GUY FOWLKES

COMMUNITY BACKGROUNDS
RURAL EDUCATION



Rural Education: Community Backgrounds

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RURAL EDUCATION: COMMUNITY BACKGROUNDS

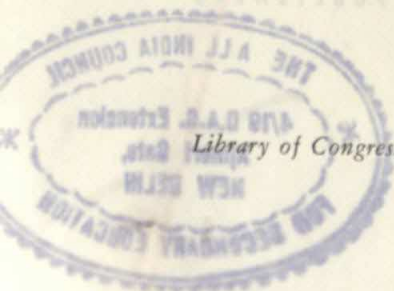
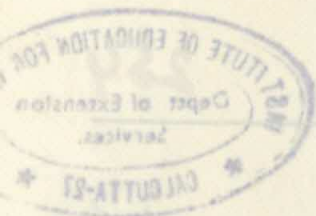
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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

There is increasingly widespread realization of the fact that the sociological composition of a community exerts strong influence upon the development and operation of educational programs within the community. Such influence on education is more direct, quicker and more volatile in action, and more easily identified and analyzed in small than in large communities. On the other hand, there is no little subtlety in the impact of the sociological background of a community on education whether the population be large or small. It therefore behooves all those responsible for the development of educational programs to examine schools and cultural plans frequently and closely against the backdrop of the community.

Since in many quarters of our country the schools in rural areas have lagged behind the general development of the locale it is peculiarly important that sharp examination be made of rural schools in terms of the people they serve. Some of the important questions that may well be raised in this connection are: What effect does the economic level of the individual citizen have on both the elementary and secondary school offerings? What are the influences of the prevailing level of formal education enjoyed by the citizens of a given rural area on the Agricultural Extension Service? How is the sociological makeup of the community related to school district reorganization? Why may the various farmers' organizations help determine the curriculum of the high schools? What changes in church membership may have bearing on the school program? Some possible answers to these and many other similar questions are inherent in the analysis of rural education hereby presented.

The growth of the concept of the "community school" in relation to rural education demands a clearer understanding of not only those

factors that can be used by the school but also of those characteristics of a community which make such an approach feasible. The kind of scrutiny suggested is not only important to educators. All those interested and active in an effort toward maximum and optimum community development must also make such study. It is just as important for a community to be "school centered" as it is for a school to be "community centered."

The author of this volume is admirably qualified to write this treatise. He is a "farm boy." He is a farmer. He has served as a County Agricultural Extension Service agent. He has taught rural school children. His distinguished research in school district organization in rural areas along with his high ability in working with both "country" and "city" people give him a remarkable insight into why people think about and act toward schools as they do.

It is my belief that educators, sociologists, 4-H Club leaders, officers of farm organizations—in short, all those concerned with the educational and cultural welfare of our country—will find this treatise interesting, stimulating, and helpful. It is a pleasure to present it as a valuable guide for the evaluation of existing educational plans and the formulation and execution of sounder and more functional educational programs.

JOHN GUY FOWLKES

Madison, Wisconsin

February, 1954

P R E F A C E

This book is designed for persons working or preparing to work in the field of rural education. It is a book to be used by rural school teachers or school administrators, as well as professional and lay workers in other agencies of rural education. It can be used in developing an understanding of rural life in relation to the Agricultural Extension Service Program just as effectively as it can be used in the preparation of school administrators or teachers.

Rather than studying the rural community independently, this book always considers the community in relation to the programs of educational agencies. The functions and structure of rural society are interpreted as they relate to the processes of education.

The author believes that the rural educator must understand the rural community or communities in which he works. Such understanding stems from knowledge of rural life and of the educational forces influencing the rural child and adult. Therefore the book is divided into two parts. Part I deals with those aspects of community background that are largely social, economic, and historical in nature. Part II is concerned with those community background factors that are primarily educational.

The Aids to the Reader which follow each chapter have been designed for use as the basis for independent study or group discussion. All of the answers to these questions are not in this book. It is felt that, if all answers were given, the Aids would become an exercise instead of a learning experience.

BURTON W. KREITLOW

Madison, Wisconsin
February, 1954

..... Part One

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

CHAPTER 1

Orientation to Education in Rural Communities

EDUCATION IN A RURAL SETTING

Rural education is the process of producing change in people living in a rural environment. This change can be in individuals or in groups, and it can be accomplished in school or out of school. Likewise, it is a change in either youths or adults.

At one time in America, it was very simple to distinguish between the rural and the urban citizen. Today it is not simple, and both must be described carefully since there are no sharply defined characteristics common to one group and not to the other. The United States census classification of urban as being an incorporated or unincorporated local-ity group of more than 2500 population gives but one aspect of the total urban description. Yet, it is the best single method of classifying rural and urban population centers. Prior to 1900, all of the United States was rural with the exception of the metropolitan East Coast and a small number of cities well scattered throughout the West. The census classification of rural and urban will be used cautiously. It will carry significant meaning regarding the place of residence, but will not necessarily identify the characteristics of people.

Actually, the key to any rural-urban definition is not in numbers of people; rather it is in relationships between people and between people and the land. A village of 2200 population in an industrial belt where over one-half of the heads of families work in industrial plants is far more urban in its relationships than a census-classified city of 2800

people with nearly all workers engaged in agricultural business and service occupations. A census-classified rural village of 2000 population, which is no more than a "bedroom" for a nearby industrial city,

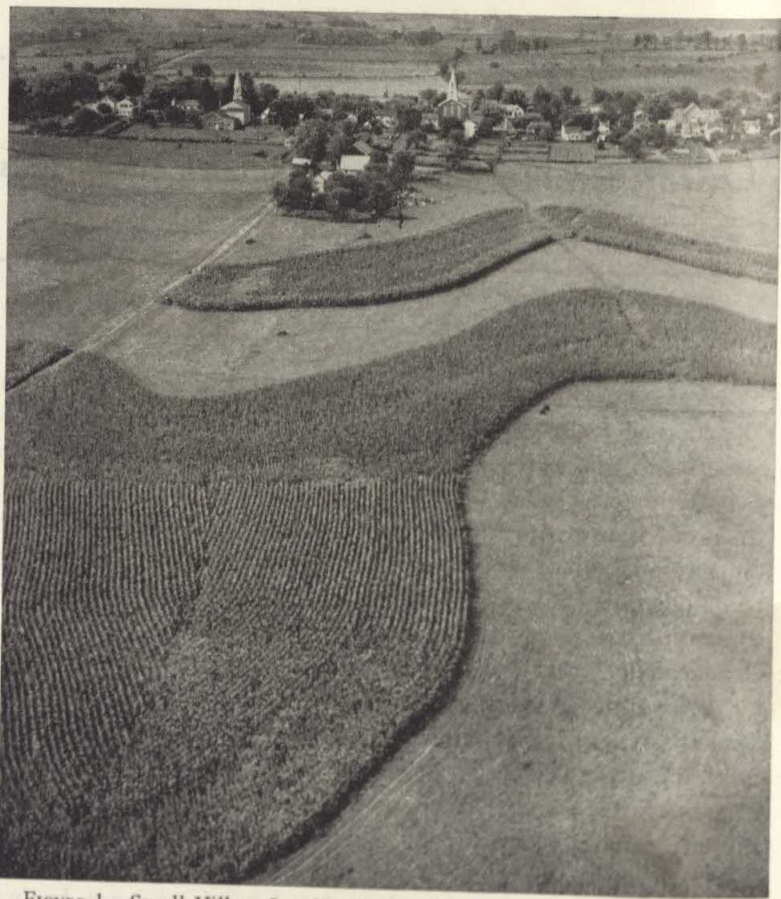


FIGURE 1. Small Village Locality Group and Its Farm Service Area. (Photo, Courtesy of the Soil Conservation Service.)

is less rural than a city of 5000 with no major industries and surrounded by a rich farming region.

Rural people can be divided into two distinct groups, those living in the open country and those living in villages. They will be called the rural farm and rural nonfarm groups. Figure 1 demonstrates where these two groups live.

Farmers live on and produce from the land. They make up the bulk of the open-country (rural-farm) group. Also included are those non-farming people whose primary social and business associations are with farmers or rural village folk. In this group are rural ministers, creamery operators, livestock truckers, and those village laborers who live in the open country beyond the cluster of homes and businesses that form the rural village.

Those people living in agricultural service center villages of under 2500 population make up what is called the rural nonfarm group. This group includes those citizens and their families engaged in the necessary business and service institutions which serve the surrounding farm area. These villages may have small manufacturing plants, but the major source of village wealth can be traced to an interdependent relationship with its farming periphery. A large number of census-classified cities of between 2500 and 5000 population will be considered rural if they meet the criterion of being a farm service center.

Although education was once considered in the narrow connotation of acquiring knowledge, that no longer is true. Today, rural and urban people consider a much broader scope for the program of education. In some instances it is difficult to determine the breadth of the educational programs of a rural community. The basic assumption of all educators is that their efforts produce change—not change just in a particular storehouse of knowledge, but change in attitudes, in values, in technical skills, and in application of bodies of knowledge to life experiences. Education is a process through which changes are encouraged. These changes may be fostered in schools, in churches, in organizations, and by self-directed study and experience. The public school in rural areas is the agency with the most comprehensive program to foster change toward specific goals. Other agencies likewise have goal-directed programs, and by both group and individual efforts promote change in rural life and living. The process of producing change in rural people is the result of the objectives and action of rural education agencies.

THE AGENCIES OF RURAL EDUCATION

There are ten agencies and institutions of rural education with which we will be most concerned. These agencies are a large part of the community background that produces change in rural people. They are

the public schools, private and parochial schools, vocational and adult schools, the home and farm, churches, rural organizations, public agencies such as the Agricultural Extension Service and the Soil Conservation Service, rural libraries, mass media, and the county fair.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The public elementary and secondary schools provide a common base of knowledge and experience that is essential in a democratic society. This socially essential minimal education provides one of the basic elements of all future educative experiences of the individual. With the freedom of migration in the United States, the general improvement of the quality of this educational opportunity and the balance of education between rural and urban, and among different rural areas becomes an important national goal.

PRIVATE AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

In rural society, the private and parochial elementary and secondary schools have a task in addition to the one accepted by the public schools. The importance of a common background of basic knowledge and experience is generally accepted by private and parochial groups. In addition to this base, these groups demand the attainment of certain other objectives which their sponsoring group considers essential. In some cases, this is specific religious knowledge, certain moral values, the understanding of cultural and social heritage of the group, or ways of behavior which are peculiar to the sponsoring organization. Regardless of the additional responsibilities placed upon the teachers in rural private and parochial schools, their responsibility is to provide the basic elements for future development of the individual.

VOCATIONAL AND ADULT SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Vocational and adult school programs in rural areas are a more recent and developing field of rural education. The seeds for a more complete program are being planted in hundreds of small rural communities where one or two posthigh-school vocational or adult classes are held in the public schools. The adult classes in home economics, vocational agriculture, farm shop, and industrial arts are usually the

first to become firmly established. Once formal adult education has been accepted in rural areas, it readily becomes a nuclear agency for community development.

HOME AND FARM

Among the institutions and agencies of rural education, the home is often overlooked. The farm as a family enterprise is still very much a part of the rural scene and parents and older brothers and sisters continue to be teachers and are responsible for major changes in the rural youngster. The ten-year-old boy learns to drive the tractor so he can haul grain at harvest time. The farm mother teaches her daughter the rudiments of cooking years before the home economics teacher has her in a junior high-school class. Dad demonstrates to Johnny, age 5, how beans are planted in the garden. Johnny learns how it is done, not just for fun, but because he is a part of a corporate farming enterprise devoted to making a living from the soil. Although modern technical agriculture makes it nearly impossible to learn the total business of farming from home experience alone, it appears to be a more successful means of teaching agriculture than through schools alone. The combination of home, school, and other agencies is producing the best results.

RURAL CHURCH

The rural church was the first structure built by the pioneers upon completion of the homes of a frontier neighborhood. The rural church provided a place for worship and the teaching of religion. It became a neighborhood center with an emphasis on morality and social relationships. Though declining in numbers and neighborhood influences, the rural church in the open country maintains a high position as an agency of rural education. The church social, the Bible class, the Sunday worship, the men's and women's groups, and the young people's societies all have certain educational objectives as part of their reason for being.

RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Rural organizations have been a potent force in the education of rural America. The Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the Farmers Union

have been more influential in changing rural people's attitudes, values, skills, and knowledge than any like group of urban organizations. The influence of these and other agencies is growing, and the recognition of their role in education should not be overlooked. Educational directors are secured through their state organizations, educational materials are produced at local, state, and national offices, objectives are established, and bold programs of work are blue-printed. In recent years, the farm organizations have also been assuming more vigorous roles of leadership in legislative action concerned with improving the public schools.

PUBLIC AGENCIES

Public agencies other than schools have been playing an increasingly significant part in rural education. By striking out into areas of need, the Agricultural Extension Service has developed the most comprehensive program. They have developed the 4-H Club program that is found in every county of the United States. Through the leadership of home demonstration agents, the homemaking program has had phenomenal success in changing home practices in rural homes. The county agents count their progress in the hundreds of new practices adopted by their county farmers in any year. The Soil Conservation Service, through demonstration and leadership training, has changed large sections of the country from eroded gullies to productive contours. The Farmers Home Administration, the Production Marketing Association, and numerous smaller agencies agree that only through education will their goals be reached.

RURAL LIBRARIES

Rural libraries have never been as great an educational force in rural America as they might be. The level of library service to rural citizens has always been low and ineffective. Yet they do influence, they do change people in the localities where they are available and used. Now certain developments in the field appear to be increasing possibilities for rural library service, and we may see greater educational influence from it in the future.

MASS MEDIA

Mass media, newspapers, radio, and more recently television deserve a place among the agencies of rural education. The quality of the educational service provided by these media may be severely questioned, yet the great use of mass media by rural folks indicates the great opportunities in this field for development.

FAIRS AND SHOWS

The county fair maintains its place as an important agency of rural education. The fall fair, harvest festivals, 4-H Club fairs, livestock expositions, junior livestock shows, garden exhibits, and many other exposition shows bring thousands of people together in nearly every rural county of the United States. Here the results of good grooming, good feeding, good selection, proper use of fertilizers, and new and better farming and homemaking methods are demonstrated and exhibited to those in attendance. Often the educational objectives of fairs become secondary to money-making schemes, or racing schedules, yet in most instances the opportunity for educational change remains high.

THE PROBLEMS OF RURAL EDUCATION

INADEQUATE FINANCIAL BASE

The rural communities in the United States are not sources of great wealth. There are some blessed with an abundance of rich soil, modern service institutions in the village center, and food processing plants that provide effective markets for farmers' produce. The numbers of these rural communities that are wealthy enough to supply a comprehensive program of education are few. Many of the smaller communities may have a high per capita wealth but an insufficient financial base for a good school program. Many other communities are not only small but have low producing farm land and marginal business enterprises in the village. Cash income with which to pay taxes has been consistently less in rural than in urban localities. There just is not as much money available to educate the rural child as there is for the city child and, in addition, the farm child must often be transported great distances to school. This makes the entire undertaking more expensive. The provision of a good school or other educational program is dependent upon

both the willingness of local citizens to support them and upon their ability to pay for them. In some rural communities, the citizens have made "all-out" efforts to support education but, because of their low financial status, have developed less-than-average programs. With inadequate funds to start, no amount of local effort can consistently provide a modern school plant and program. In other rural communities, the wealth is available, but the will for a strong educational program is missing.

The open-country farm areas, with the exception of the wealthiest communities, are less able to support education than are most villages. Together, they often are unable to provide the type of program that is considered a minimum by city citizens or even by themselves.

In communities with the lowest financial ability to support schools, we usually find the greater number of children to be educated. This negative relationship between wealth and number of children in the communities aggravates an already critical school support problem.

ANTIQUATED ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Added to the problem of an inadequate economic base to support a modern school system is an obsolete administrative structure. In most of the forty-eight states, the present system of school districts is a hand-me-down from the frontier. In the Middle West, the one-room school has been the symbol of education. The one-room school was built to meet certain educational needs of a frontier society. A district with a one-room school met those needs well. "Reading, 'Riting, and 'Rithmetic" and the "Fear of the Lord" constituted the curriculum. A teacher and a room were all that was needed to get the job done. The fact that it once did the job reasonably well in terms of frontier objectives has made the structure difficult to change. Legislative action and county and community level programs of an informational nature have been helping to educate the adults to an understanding of the purposes of education in the mid-twentieth century. Evidence in most of the rural states indicates that the function of education is not well understood by farm people. Once the function of modern education is clear to rural people, the structure can be changed.

RURAL PROVINCIALISM

Some farm people have been hesitant to join with the village or even with other farmers in other school districts to provide facilities and staff for a better educational program. This is not because they desire a poor grade of education, but it goes back to the basic structure of farming itself. Farmers have a traditionally independent philosophy. They have been hard-working and frugal. They have learned how to save money, how to make a living by themselves. They have a deep conviction about the moral values of living close to the soil. This provincialism is behind many of the farmers' objections to physical improvements to educational institutions, which cost money but don't bring returns in cash. Provincialism is evident in the first, often violent objection of some farm groups to consolidation or reorganization of school districts into larger and more efficient administrative units. These objections are not due to ignorance or lack of concern for education. They are simply social and psychological reactions to something new. ("If it's new, I'm ag'in it.") Overcoming this background of provincialism is one of the problems facing the educational leader in a rural community or county.

LOW LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Rural adults do not have the same level of formal educational background as the urban adult. This may not appear to be a problem for the adult himself, yet in developing educational programs the attitudes of those who had schooling beyond grade 8 or beyond high school are more positive toward an improved education. The fact that the median grade in school reached by adults 35 years of age and older is below grade 8 in the rural areas of most states is significant when we see that the median grade reached by urban residents of the same age is grade 10. The relatively low level of education of the adult population is a problem peculiar to rural society. Because of this lower level of educational attainment, the rural adults do not see clearly the need for education of a level or quality as high as that considered essential by educators.

PROFESSIONAL JEALOUSIES

The focus of educational jealousies among different educational agencies, or among workers in the public schools has been consistently sharper in rural areas. These jealousies present a real stumbling block to many rural education workers. For example, we assume that an essential man in any rural community school is the teacher of agriculture. He may begin work with a feeling of superiority, in part justified by the fact that the federal government thinks he is doing an important enough job to merit federal subsidy, and by the training institutions that make much of the separate curriculum for teachers of agriculture. Another essential person in a rural community school is the principal. He may not be subsidized by the federal government nor subjected to a special curriculum in college, yet his role can be assumed to be as significant as that of the teacher of agriculture. Under these conditions, frictions concerning authority related to the program in agriculture often arise. Similar jealousies appear between staff of other vocational programs and regular programs, between teachers of adults and high-school teachers, between county agricultural agents and agriculture teachers, between educational directors of the Farm Bureau and those of the Farmers Union, between county health officers and county superintendents of schools. In rural society, where educational needs are great, there is little excuse for duplicated efforts and jealousy among professional workers. It is a problem of rural education and can be and often is solved among professional workers themselves.

NARROW PROFESSIONAL OUTLOOK

Rural educators are similar to all educators in their numerous job specializations. Specialization does not predetermine a narrow professional outlook, yet there has been a tendency for a narrow professional outlook among some educators in rural society. This may be a result of their lower educational attainment. More likely, it is because there is much to be done even in a very narrow field, and the educator becomes lost in a maze of his own making. The attainment of worthwhile rural community goals demands coördination on the part of rural

educators. This can only be accomplished by a general expansion of the base of understanding on the part of the individuals concerned. In the narrow professional outlook of rural workers may lie the reason for professional jealousies as well as the reasons for lack of coördination in community educational programs.

REACHING FAMILIES OF LOWER SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS

The difficulty in reaching all socio-economic segments of a community and providing equal or adequate educational services for them has been recognized by most rural leaders. Informal organizations and public agencies experience equal difficulty in this regard. Even the schools aided by compulsory attendance laws have been unable to treat the lower socio-economic levels satisfactorily. In many instances, those from the lower economic levels have been the first to drop out of school when the compulsory age is reached. They have been the ones who fail to understand the objectives of the educational program as it has been designed and defined on middle class concepts. The families in the lower classes do not join the programs or attend the meetings of public and private voluntary organizations. Meeting the needs of these groups has become a major problem for rural educators.

FARM-VILLAGE TENSIONS

Traditionally, the relationships between farm and village dwellers in the same community have evoked tension, suspicion, mistrust, and competition.¹ In the last decade, the dependency of one upon the other has been more apparent and is being more fully recognized by the farmers and villagers themselves.² With the recognition of interdependency, an avenue is developed for more coöperative ventures in total community planning. How to bring further harmony and productive organization into farm-village relationships is one of the problems of those concerned with the education of rural people.

¹ C. J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," *Res. Bul.* 34, Agriculture Exp. Station, University of Wisconsin, Madison, May, 1915, pp. 25-34.

² J. H. Kolb, and LeRoy J. Day, "Interdependence in Town and Country Relations in Rural Society," *Res. Bul.* 172, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1950, pp. 3-4.

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS SIGNIFICANT IN DETERMINING A RURAL COMMUNITIES EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The educational, social, and cultural characteristics possessed by a community are determining factors in its educational status and development. This determination is most true in a democratic society where control is vested in the local citizenry. The prevailing pattern of control of education in the United States is at the regional, county, or community level. Many of these controls are delegated by the state to local groups and, as such, carry certain restrictions. This is particularly true when state financial aids are involved in the process.

Local controls of education means different things to different people. As here used, and in relation to schools, it means control at regional (several counties in a given geographic and economic area), county, or community level. In a number of Midwestern states, the term "local control" means control on a neighborhood basis. Since the latter type of local control has been associated largely with the one-room school district, it has been a potent factor in maintaining a frontier perspective of education. Local control of other public and private educational agencies is almost completely on a community and county basis. The Agricultural Extension Service has major programming control at county level even though it is in part a federally sponsored program. County plans are then adjusted to community needs by local volunteer workers. The county unit of school organization, with program planning at county level, has much in common with the Agricultural Extension Service. Most informal educational organizations are also at community or county level, and program planning is accomplished there. The Farm Bureau Federation operates in this fashion although, as with other organizations, there is coöperation with both state and national offices.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF ADULTS

The years of public education attained by the adults of a community influence greatly their attitudes toward education. That education begets education has been proved in a number of studies dealing with nonattendance factors. The children who are most persistent in school attendance are those whose parents had more education than the par-

ents of the average adult in a community. The children who are the "dropout" cases are those whose parents had less education than the average adult in a community. The counties with the lowest percent of 16-17-year-old youths in school are from the group of counties where the parents had completed the lowest number of school grades. It is essential to consider the educational background of rural adults when planning rural education programs.

ECONOMIC LEVEL

One of the most significant determinants of education is the economic base of the rural community being considered. The state equalization aids for public schools tend to make this a lesser influence. However, a community with meager funds is not able to support the additional program that is possible in its neighboring community which receives less aid but has abundant local resources and ability to pay. It is generally conceded that the poor communities make a greater effort to support education than do the wealthy communities. Added to this poor-wealthy dichotomy is the previously noted general characteristic of poor people and poor communities of having higher birth rates, thus requiring them to educate more children than their wealthier neighbors.

LEVEL OF LIVING

The level of living of a community or even of particular sections of a community influence the type of educational program developed. A low level of living does not necessarily indicate little interest in education. In certain instances, education becomes a very important part of a community plan to help its people, either at home or in their attempt to improve their economic status by migration. For example, in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, the northern parts of the states, which are poorer economically, stand significantly higher in the number of farm boys and girls going on to high school.

The economic base and the general level of living of a community are partial determinants of their rural education programs. This influence is dual. On the one hand, a low economic base makes it impossible to do the educational job as thoroughly as in an area where

people are wealthy; on the other hand, these poorer rural people may desire better education as one means of improving their status.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND

The social structure of the community is necessarily associated with educational development. The rate of change from the frontier structure to a modern structure has been different for different communities. This change has been largely the result of social diffusion and, as such, is closely associated with the ethnic and cultural heritage of a community. A frontier group which readily accepted new ideas and approved new social action not only accepted schools as a desirable means of education, but also accepted numerous other ideas that changed their base group rapidly. The culture islands that exist today do exist because they have not accepted other cultures or nationalities readily. In this area there are very few marriages with people of other nationalities or backgrounds, new methods of farming are not accepted hastily, social control of children rests heavily on the parents, and the system of education to be accepted must be very similar to that with which the adults are best acquainted. In this combination of social structure and ethnic background, the people have become accustomed to a one-room school with a 3-R philosophy, and it is safe to assume that any attempt on the part of other people (outsiders) to change their schools would meet with opposition.

THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Schools tend to maintain that role which has been established for them by community tradition. In certain rural communities, the school has been at the forefront of social change and has taken a leading part in helping the community. In other rural communities, the rural school (one-room particularly) has been a symbol of the "good old days" and is cherished not as an institution of learning, but as a structure in which is vested all of the fine values of the days when farm people lived unto themselves. The characteristics of the attitudes of the people toward schools and the role of a total educational program are in need of careful study by educators proposing modern educational programs in rural areas.

The pressure exerted by individuals and groups in making immediate school changes is of considerable importance. It is desirable to know the role of school people in past development of the school system. Was the leadership from educational agencies outside of the strict "school" interpretation the most influential in school development? What leadership is taken by present educational agencies? There are certain leadership pressures, both direct and indirect, that can be relegated to school people, and certain other leadership pressures which best come from other sources. Knowing the traditional role played by each group of individuals and organizations in education leadership gives the cue where and when to start on total community development in education.

EDUCATION PROGRAM AVAILABLE FOR ADULTS

Significant in the educational history of a community is the status of programs in adult education. Where adults are positive in their stand toward the development of a modern educational program, they also show considerable evidence of being positive in their attitude toward the need for self-improvement. An analysis of the adult programs available in a community is one way of understanding why a total educational program is at its present level. It must be assumed at this point that educational programs of any kind are developed through democratic means and as such represent community attitudes in action.

The Agricultural Extension Service is a national program of real influence in regard to educational development of a community. The availability of this program—and the degree to which farm adults participate—is a sound indication of farm educational attitude. A person moving to a community in any type of professional educational capacity can make use of the knowledge gained by both volunteer and paid workers in the Extension Services rural community activities. The fact that an Extension program has developed is not the only indication of community attitudes. In many cases, the types of programs developed are even more revealing. The groups developing educational programs purely on the basis of learning modern production practices in an effort to gain financial ends are indeed different from those developing programs conceived with ways and means of enjoying leisure time more

fully or concerned with a more businesslike operation of town government. In analyzing adult programs and their influence and determination of total educational welfare, we must ascertain both amount and kind.

The development and acceptance of the vocational agriculture program in the public schools, and its adult and young farmer classes indicate further the characteristics of a community that help determine future educational growth. Likewise, the presence of the Farmers Union, the Grange, the Farm Bureau, or other less prominent farm organizations shows evidence that that community will act together to meet educational, social, or economic needs. These evidences* are forerunners of positive and progressive educational development and, as such, determine and express the attitudes of those involved in future consideration of programs.

The educational role of expositions, fairs, winter short courses, lecture series, and other media of similar nature indicate clearly the attitudes of large groups of people toward activities that promote understanding and knowledge. The contacts of rural people with each other and with new ideas provide them with a base upon which educational growth is possible.

ROLE OF THE LIBRARY IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Library resources in rural areas are notoriously poor. When one examines the availability of library service by states and the school attendance figures by states, there is a striking relationship between availability of library service and high level of school attendance. Although no cause-effect relationship has been established in this regard, the implications are clear. Libraries and modern schools are rather unacceptable structures to large numbers of rural people. Modern schools are often not acceptable because their overall philosophy differs from that of the 3 R's; libraries, because they have never been available in usable form to many farm or rural village folks.

POSITION OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The rural church plays a role in community life quite different from other educational agencies. In certain respects, the church wields positive influence in developing sound programs of rural education both

in the public school system and in other agencies. In other respects, the church can, if it likes, obstruct total educational development in an effort to further its own ends. If it chooses, the church can justify (to itself at least) an independent stand in this matter by pointing out its consideration of only the end goal of life eternal. Yet, as part of a total democratic community, working with people of other denominations and religions, the church is no less than selfish if it closes its eyes to the significance of its role in total community relationships. This does not necessarily mean that parochial schools are a negative influence on total educational progress; they do become so when public education suffers because of their presence. They become a positive educational influence when they are an integral part of total community educational development both in planning and process. Their role can be determined and their influence predicted.

RURAL EDUCATION TODAY

The rural grade schools, the high schools, the programs of formal adult education, and the various informal educational agencies are beginning to work together for the overall educational development of rural America. When compared to urban education, rural society is in its educational infancy. During the first half of the twentieth century, it has become essential for educational agencies to coöperate. It is absolutely imperative that they continue to do so. The following chapters will indicate the status of rural education today. Likewise, the opportunities for an improved status will be noted and signs of hopeful development considered. The background of the present educational status and future development of rural society lies in the rural community; thus the emphasis will consistently be on community structure and function in its relationship to the educative process.

AIDS TO THE READER

Throughout this book, suggestions to aid the reader will be in two groups. The first group (A) will be aids for the individual to consider. They will be suggestions for individual projects, questions requiring library research or community study, suggested topics for reports, or suggestions for interviews or conferences.

The second group (B) will be aids for group consideration. These can

be used effectively by a teacher in a class situation or by a leader dealing with community study groups.

In both groups, the emphasis will consistently focus upon interpretation of materials in the chapter, implications and effects of changes on either education or rural society, and the obtaining of local information to validate generalizations in the text.

- A.
 1. Prepare a list of the major rural educational organizations in your state. What is the extent of their program?
 2. Begin a collection of brochures and bulletins published by these organizations. Select those that most clearly point out their objectives and educational program.
- B.
 1. What evidence exists in rural communities of this region that indicates coöperation among the agencies of rural education?
 2. What problems of rural education could best be handled by individual agencies?
 3. Which problems need coördination of agencies for effective solutions?
 4. What community characteristics are most influential in determining educational programs of this area?
 5. Do the majority of citizens understand the purposes of the various educational groups considered?
 6. For those who do not, is it important that they do? If No, why not? If Yes, how can this understanding be developed?

CHAPTER 2

The Educational Level of the Rural Citizen

SCHOOLING AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF RURAL CHILDREN

SIGNIFICANCE OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The level of formal education attained by an individual is an important determinant of his social and economic welfare. In a nation which believes in the philosophy of public education for all, this is a legitimate factor affecting both individuals and groups. Because of this effect, it becomes extremely important that all segments of society are treated with equal consideration.

Even in colonial days, those with visions for a free public-school system believed that it was essential as a basis for intelligent democratic decisions. School achievement in years has become of real importance to individual and group welfare in our society. The progress that has been made in the education of the young has far exceeded the dreams of the early leaders Jefferson, Mann, and Carter. However, certain segments of American society have been unable or unwilling to move ahead as rapidly as others. The least advancement in terms of years of schooling has been made in rural America. Thus, the rural citizen has certain and distinct social and economic disadvantages because of the lower level of his formal education and training.

CHANGES IN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Just how much schooling do rural people have? What changes are being made in their level of schooling? The United States census

publications are the most important source of answers to these questions. The changes in the educational level of the adult population as indicated in Table 1 are clear. In a period of ten years the general level

TABLE 1. The Number of Years of School Completed in 1940 and 1950 for Rural Citizens 25 Years of Age and Over

Years of School Completed	Percent Completion 1940	Percent Completion 1950
1-4 years	13	11.4
5-6 years	13.7	11.3
7-8 years	36.7	28.5
1-3 years of high school	13.5	15.5
4 years of high school	10.3	15.3
1-3 years of college	4.5	5.5
4 years or more of college	2.8	3.6

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*. Population, Characteristics by Age, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. 82-86. Figures for 1950 obtained through the courtesy of Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

of educational attainment for adults 25 years of age and over has risen from 31.1 percent of the rural population with one year of high school or more in 1940 to 39.9 percent with one year or more of high-school education in 1950. These figures are considerably more significant than they appear because of a change in the questions regarding education that were asked by the 1950 enumerators. In 1940, the question asked was, "What is the highest grade in school that he has completed?" and in 1950 two questions were asked: (1) "What is the highest grade of school that he has attended?" and (2) "Did he finish this grade?"

This difference eliminated the possibility of counting part of a year of schooling as a completed year in the 1950 census data. It was assumed by the Bureau of Census that the 1940 figures were biased toward more years of schooling than had actually been completed.¹

The percentage of rural citizens with some college attendance has increased slightly during the 1940-1950 decade while those whose school experience has been eighth grade or lower have dropped in

¹ *Seventeenth Decennial Census of the United States: 1950*. U. S. Census of Population. U. S. Summary General Characteristics, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953, p. XII.

number considerably. Some high-school education has become compulsory through the increase in the number of state compulsory attendance laws requiring attendance to age sixteen or eighteen. Further examination of census data shows that the concentration of adults whose schooling terminated with grade eight or less are the older age groups of rural population. It is obvious that, as the present school-age children reach maturity, the level of school completion will be a great deal higher than indicated by the 1950 census.

The level of schooling of the rural adult population has consistently been below that of adults living in cities. Table 2 indicates the high-

TABLE 2. Highest School Grade Completed by Urban Adults and Rural Adults 25 Years of Age and Older in 1950^a

Highest School Grade Completed	Percent Completed		
	Urban Adults	Rural Nonfarm Adults	Rural Farm Adults
None	2.3	2.7	3.1
1-2	1.9	2.7	3.8
3-4	4.9	7.0	9.9
5-6	8.0	10.1	12.9
7-8	24.6	29.4	27.3
1 year high school	5.9	5.9	5.5
2 years high school	7.0	6.3	5.1
3 years high school	4.6	4.4	3.3
4 years high school	22.6	17.2	12.6
1 year college	2.8	2.3	1.8
2 years college	3.6	2.7	1.8
3 years college	1.6	1.2	.7
4 or more years of college	7.2	4.7	2.0

^a 1950 figures obtained through courtesy of Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, and taken from Bureau of Census Form 17, p. 102.

school attainment level of urban adults 25 years of age and over when compared with the same age group in rural areas. We note that in 1950, 15.2 percent of urban adults had at least some college education, while this was true for only 10.9 percent of rural nonfarm adults and 6.3 percent of rural farm adults. The percent of rural farm adults with eighth-grade education or less is 15.3 percentage points above that of urban adults.

More striking than the comparison between rural and urban school attainment are the differences in attendance among rural farm, rural

TABLE 3. The Percent of 16-17-Year-Old Rural Farm, Rural Nonfarm, and Urban Youth Enrolled in School in 1930, 1940, and 1950^a

State	Year	Age	Percent Boys in Attendance			Percent Girls in Attendance		
			Rural Farm	Rural Non- farm	Urban	Rural Farm	Rural Non- farm	Urban
UNITED STATES	1930	16-17	48.1	56.6	62.2	56.5	57.7	58.9
	1940	16-17	53.0	68.2	77.1	60.9	67.0	74.3
	1950	16	69.7	78.1	86.5	77.3	77.6	84.0
	1950	17	56.9	61.5	75.1	65.9	64.6	70.7
NEW ENGLAND								
Maine	1930	16-17	48.2	58.9	61.4	62.6	63.5	61.2
	1940	16-17	58.0	64.8	71.6	67.5	67.1	68.8
	1950	16	72.5	73.9	81.8	80.6	76.6	80.8
	1950	17	53.7	64.4	69.9	64.5	65.3	69.7
New Hampshire	1930	16-17	53.5	54.4	55.2	67.3	59.4	52.7
	1940	16-17	59.8	63.7	68.1	72.8	69.7	67.8
	1950	16	—	79.3	77.5	—	79.7	79.8
	1950	17	—	69.3	71.7	—	74.5	71.4
Vermont	1930	16-17	39.7	53.9	62.3	58.9	63.5	60.0
	1940	16-17	46.1	67.6	78.3	64.1	68.5	73.7
	1950	16	63.4	80.9	—	75.2	83.7	86.1
	1950	17	55.5	65.1	—	65.6	70.0	79.7
Massachusetts	1930	16-17	44.1	52.8	60.1	63.0	60.4	59.7
	1940	16-17	60.7	72.1	75.1	72.8	76.2	75.5
	1950	16	81.9	81.3	84.4	91.2	85.5	85.0
	1950	17	64.6	69.3	72.8	—	75.5	73.5
Rhode Island	1930	16-17	37.3	40.2	40.7	45.4	41.7	40.1
	1940	16-17	52.3	52.9	61.6	68.0	60.0	61.0
	1950	16	—	71.4	75.5	—	69.4	76.1
	1950	17	—	65.0	61.5	—	60.8	62.0
Connecticut	1930	16-17	41.1	47.6	48.3	53.4	48.6	45.9
	1940	16-17	64.5	75.0	73.2	76.4	77.4	73.5
	1950	16	85.6	85.3	85.0	—	86.0	87.0
	1950	17	—	73.2	76.2	—	70.7	76.1
MIDDLE ATLANTIC								
New York	1930	16-17	45.7	59.7	62.8	61.7	60.2	57.1
	1940	16-17	61.7	75.1	80.6	75.2	77.0	77.5
	1950	16	74.8	82.5	89.3	86.7	87.2	88.2
	1950	17	64.3	72.3	75.7	73.5	72.4	71.8
New Jersey	1930	16-17	42.6	47.8	50.3	55.7	49.6	44.5
	1940	16-17	56.5	69.9	72.0	66.8	71.4	68.7
	1950	16	80.0	81.0	86.9	80.6	85.7	84.8
	1950	17	64.1	46.4	74.4	76.4	70.8	72.6
Pennsylvania	1930	16-17	39.1	45.5	52.9	47.8	44.4	48.9
	1940	16-17	55.6	74.3	80.8	61.2	70.5	77.0
	1950	16	73.1	85.0	89.1	79.9	83.4	86.1
	1950	17	60.1	70.9	77.2	66.4	71.3	72.6

TABLE 3. The Percent of 16-17-Year-Old Rural Farm, Rural Nonfarm, and Urban Youth Enrolled in School in 1930, 1940, and 1950^a (Continued)

State	Year	Age	Percent Boys in Attendance			Percent Girls in Attendance		
			Rural			Rural		
			Rural Farm	Non- farm	Urban	Rural Farm	Non- farm	Urban
EAST NORTH CENTRAL								
Ohio	1930	16-17	63.7	68.8	70.6	70.2	67.1	65.5
	1940	16-17	69.4	77.7	83.2	76.8	76.3	79.5
	1950	16	81.9	85.6	89.6	86.8	84.3	86.6
Indiana	1950	17	70.9	72.6	80.5	79.7	74.3	75.5
	1930	16-17	59.7	66.0	63.4	67.6	64.6	58.5
	1940	16-17	67.9	74.2	76.8	74.2	72.9	73.0
Illinois	1950	16	80.5	82.1	83.3	84.9	81.9	82.0
	1950	17	69.7	70.7	74.4	75.8	69.2	68.7
	1930	16-17	46.2	59.8	61.5	54.7	58.5	55.3
Michigan	1940	16-17	55.7	68.9	79.2	61.4	66.9	75.2
	1950	16	74.9	79.6	89.1	85.1	81.3	87.0
	1950	17	64.8	59.5	76.4	73.4	69.9	73.1
Wisconsin	1930	16-17	41.4	61.5	69.9	55.2	63.0	62.9
	1940	16-17	53.1	71.9	79.0	64.3	71.8	76.9
	1950	16	78.9	84.3	86.6	86.0	85.0	87.1
	1950	17	67.8	73.2	76.8	79.4	74.3	73.8
	1930	16-17	27.3	65.3	86.7	43.0	65.6	83.4
	1940	16-17	45.3	77.3	92.4	58.9	76.0	90.3
	1950	16	69.0	85.9	94.6	83.9	86.8	93.4
	1950	17	57.4	76.2	90.6	75.3	78.8	85.4
	WEST NORTH CENTRAL							
Minnesota	1930	16-17	32.2	68.3	68.3	49.1	73.4	68.3
	1940	16-17	43.8	76.1	83.3	62.7	78.8	83.4
	1950	16	68.7	84.7	88.2	84.6	89.9	87.7
Iowa	1950	17	59.7	77.7	84.1	79.3	78.5	80.4
	1930	16-17	47.6	73.6	69.9	62.0	76.1	70.3
	1940	16-17	57.8	76.7	79.5	68.0	77.0	77.1
Missouri	1950	16	80.2	86.3	86.8	87.1	88.7	85.5
	1950	17	70.1	82.2	77.2	81.9	78.0	75.4
	1930	16-17	44.3	58.3	55.0	49.1	57.7	51.7
North Dakota	1940	16-17	52.5	65.3	69.5	59.0	63.7	65.8
	1950	16	67.5	73.1	79.4	76.2	76.5	77.5
	1950	17	60.8	61.2	70.6	69.0	62.9	63.0
South Dakota	1930	16-17	41.2	76.6	76.3	54.4	80.1	75.4
	1940	16-17	46.4	78.8	79.9	59.3	81.3	70.2
	1950	16	61.7	84.5	84.0	72.7	88.8	86.5
	1950	17	54.2	75.7	78.6	71.4	76.3	72.3
	1930	16-17	45.7	78.3	76.6	60.3	81.8	77.1
	1940	16-17	55.5	80.4	83.5	69.7	81.5	85.1
	1950	16	65.8	77.9	86.6	81.8	86.9	87.9
	1950	17	59.1	77.7	77.1	76.7	77.0	73.4

TABLE 3. The Percent of 16-17-Year-Old Rural Farm, Rural Nonfarm, and Urban Youth Enrolled in School in 1930, 1940, and 1950^a (Continued)

State	Year	Age	Percent Boys in Attendance			Percent Girls in Attendance		
			Rural Farm	Rural Non farm	Urban	Rural Farm	Rural Non- farm	Urban
Nebraska	1930	16-17	46.6	75.1	71.0	61.0	77.0	69.0
	1940	16-17	60.0	79.5	83.4	68.3	78.9	80.4
	1950	16	77.9	86.5	86.6	86.8	86.9	86.1
	1950	17	62.4	76.6	75.3	73.5	75.8	74.9
Kansas	1930	16-17	57.4	73.2	66.4	67.4	74.4	67.4
	1940	16-17	70.5	80.4	78.3	75.5	79.9	75.6
	1950	16	82.5	85.9	85.7	88.3	85.3	82.4
	1950	17	78.1	66.5	77.1	80.8	80.6	72.2
SOUTH ATLANTIC								
Delaware	1930	16-17	40.7	57.3	54.4	55.9	55.2	49.6
	1940	16-17	47.5	68.3	69.5	63.2	68.2	66.8
	1950	16	—	82.6	81.8	—	67.3	86.3
	1950	17	—	60.7	71.8	—	62.0	67.4
Maryland	1930	16-17	31.4	42.0	44.0	44.0	46.3	42.3
	1940	16-17	40.1	56.8	60.6	54.2	58.5	57.9
	1950	16	64.9	74.7	79.4	76.5	72.9	77.3
	1950	17	42.9	49.0	65.9	53.1	54.3	60.4
Virginia	1930	16-17	41.3	42.8	52.8	53.0	47.6	54.2
	1940	16-17	44.8	52.9	65.1	55.8	55.0	64.4
	1950	16	59.1	65.0	80.8	72.5	70.4	77.8
	1950	17	42.9	48.3	71.8	57.9	50.9	64.6
West Virginia	1930	16-17	44.7	48.1	60.4	49.5	45.8	56.2
	1940	16-17	46.5	59.0	75.4	49.3	54.2	69.8
	1950	16	63.9	70.8	83.9	71.2	66.0	81.3
	1950	17	44.0	57.2	77.2	57.8	53.1	68.0
North Carolina	1930	16-17	46.1	43.9	48.0	56.0	47.3	49.4
	1940	16-17	47.6	53.0	60.6	59.6	56.9	59.8
	1950	16	61.8	71.0	77.8	75.0	73.3	77.3
	1950	17	50.7	53.7	67.3	63.8	60.8	64.8
South Carolina	1930	16-17	41.7	36.9	51.5	54.4	40.4	54.6
	1940	16-17	44.1	53.0	59.3	57.9	53.1	61.0
	1950	16	55.3	63.2	74.0	66.7	68.6	73.4
	1950	17	40.7	44.7	60.1	54.9	49.1	61.0
Georgia	1930	16-17	37.1	41.3	47.8	45.7	45.3	49.3
	1940	16-17	40.1	50.5	58.1	52.7	53.0	56.9
	1950	16	58.7	63.4	76.2	71.1	67.5	71.1
	1950	17	37.1	39.7	61.1	46.6	44.2	53.1
Florida	1930	16-17	52.1	46.4	58.9	60.1	50.1	58.6
	1940	16-17	48.1	57.3	69.1	59.6	57.6	67.7
	1950	16	72.1	75.4	85.4	75.3	69.1	82.2
	1950	17	53.8	59.4	72.6	67.8	55.1	66.8
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL								
Kentucky	1930	16-17	44.8	49.5	52.3	50.5	49.9	51.9
	1940	16-17	29.9	50.9	63.6	35.2	47.6	61.7

TABLE 3. The Percent of 16-17-Year-Old Rural Farm, Rural Nonfarm, and Urban Youth Enrolled in School in 1930, 1940, and 1950^a (Continued)

State	Year	Age	Percent Boys in Attendance			Percent Girls in Attendance		
			Rural Farm	Non- farm	Urban	Rural Farm	Non- farm	Urban
Kentucky	1950	16	54.0	60.1	79.4	58.8	60.2	75.2
	1950	17	39.2	38.7	70.2	50.1	49.8	61.6
Tennessee	1930	16-17	51.0	54.1	53.8	54.9	53.6	53.0
	1940	16-17	46.5	56.4	63.4	51.0	54.7	61.3
Alabama	1950	16	65.7	73.1	85.9	71.0	69.6	77.2
	1950	17	47.8	54.2	69.2	56.8	54.3	61.8
	1930	16-17	49.1	48.6	54.3	53.0	49.7	55.6
	1940	16-17	50.6	59.5	65.7	57.1	56.6	63.3
Mississippi	1950	16	62.9	71.7	80.9	72.8	68.8	76.1
	1950	17	50.6	55.4	67.1	60.9	56.8	61.6
	1930	16-17	57.6	59.4	57.9	61.3	64.9	59.7
	1940	16-17	54.2	63.6	67.5	59.4	61.2	67.2
	1950	16	72.4	77.7	82.7	79.6	75.8	77.1
	1950	17	57.3	67.0	67.3	59.4	62.7	59.9
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL								
Arkansas	1930	16-17	56.3	62.8	65.6	57.9	61.6	66.9
	1940	16-17	50.1	62.7	73.0	55.2	60.3	68.8
	1950	16	67.1	75.4	82.5	72.1	73.0	77.4
	1950	17	55.8	60.6	73.4	58.0	57.7	66.7
Louisiana	1930	16-17	45.1	48.7	53.1	50.3	48.7	52.0
	1940	16-17	46.4	57.8	62.7	51.7	56.6	63.0
	1950	16	65.9	73.2	80.9	73.2	71.1	77.4
Oklahoma	1950	17	53.2	57.5	68.4	58.2	56.1	63.9
	1930	16-17	56.5	66.4	71.5	60.0	66.6	67.9
	1940	16-17	62.5	72.6	79.2	67.6	71.4	75.1
	1950	16	80.5	86.1	88.6	86.5	83.5	83.3
Texas	1950	17	73.1	71.4	78.7	72.9	72.6	70.0
	1930	16-17	51.9	60.0	59.7	56.6	62.1	59.2
	1940	16-17	57.8	66.6	68.0	62.0	63.1	63.1
	1950	16	74.5	74.7	78.9	76.8	69.6	72.3
	1950	17	55.8	55.1	62.3	62.6	55.9	56.3
MOUNTAIN								
Montana	1930	16-17	50.6	72.0	73.7	68.4	77.1	75.5
	1940	16-17	66.2	79.1	84.0	76.3	81.3	82.8
	1950	16	75.0	83.1	89.8	87.2	86.0	87.6
	1950	17	68.1	75.4	82.9	74.7	75.7	78.5
Idaho	1930	16-17	63.6	70.0	76.4	75.0	75.7	78.8
	1940	16-17	73.2	78.4	82.8	79.6	77.0	79.5
	1950	16	86.2	86.1	86.0	89.4	81.9	83.3
Wyoming	1950	17	75.1	75.2	79.7	84.8	71.4	78.5
	1930	16-17	52.6	70.5	72.3	69.6	75.7	74.2
	1940	16-17	66.7	81.0	84.0	77.3	80.8	82.9
	1950	16	69.8	77.9	89.1	—	83.2	89.4
	1950	17	70.6	55.0	78.4	—	68.9	74.2

TABLE 3. The Percent of 16-17-Year-Old Rural Farm, Rural Nonfarm, and Urban Youth Enrolled in School in 1930, 1940, and 1950^a (Continued)

State	Year	Age	Percent Boys in Attendance			Percent Girls in Attendance		
			Rural Farm	Rural Non- farm	Urban	Rural Farm	Rural Non- farm	Urban
Colorado	1930	16-17	52.6	62.5	67.4	64.1	65.6	66.2
	1940	16-17	61.7	70.9	77.9	69.1	69.8	76.6
	1950	16	78.6	80.5	84.0	85.6	78.1	81.3
	1950	17	67.3	58.3	72.5	73.8	69.1	73.4
New Mexico	1930	16-17	57.8	54.8	65.5	58.8	49.6	62.3
	1940	16-17	60.1	63.1	72.4	59.0	58.1	66.7
	1950	16	77.7	77.1	86.2	76.4	73.3	78.4
	1950	17	64.3	62.7	73.5	61.4	56.3	62.2
Arizona	1930	16-17	52.6	56.2	63.7	55.6	53.0	59.0
	1940	16-17	54.4	64.9	75.0	51.9	60.1	70.7
	1950	16	70.2	80.0	81.4	68.4	71.0	75.9
	1950	17	59.1	62.8	72.5	50.0	57.6	65.0
Utah	1930	16-17	78.7	79.5	84.3	81.5	77.2	81.1
	1940	16-17	85.0	86.6	89.3	87.4	85.0	86.0
	1950	16	93.2	89.1	94.1	91.6	94.4	92.2
	1950	17	86.9	82.5	88.1	91.1	81.9	79.3
Nevada	1930	16-17	63.2	76.3	80.3	77.6	75.5	78.0
	1940	16-17	69.6	79.9	88.5	80.7	74.8	82.8
	1950	16	—	—	89.5	—	—	—
	1950	17	—	—	—	—	—	78.0
PACIFIC								
Washington	1930	16-17	66.1	71.1	79.6	79.0	75.5	81.5
	1940	16-17	78.5	81.4	87.5	83.7	81.1	86.1
	1950	16	86.1	89.4	93.4	89.2	86.3	90.5
	1950	17	79.5	59.0	79.6	81.6	74.8	79.8
Oregon	1930	16-17	61.9	69.0	75.5	76.0	72.2	77.5
	1940	16-17	72.7	75.6	84.6	80.7	74.8	82.5
	1950	16	87.0	90.2	95.7	92.9	85.6	91.6
	1950	17	80.4	80.1	85.9	81.2	68.8	84.5
California	1930	16-17	69.4	74.8	87.1	74.7	74.5	84.7
	1940	16-17	78.0	81.6	90.0	79.3	77.5	87.2
	1950	16	89.3	85.9	94.4	83.9	81.2	90.5
	1950	17	76.4	60.6	85.8	74.7	65.6	78.9

SOURCES: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*. Population, vol. 3, Parts 1 and 2, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932, Table 6, pp. 87-1375; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*. Population, Characteristics by Age, vol. 4, Parts 1-4, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943, Table 15, pp. 25-906. 1950 figures obtained through courtesy of Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, and taken from Bureau of Census Form 17P-103-63-1.

^a 1950 data based upon a 20 percent sample. Where this did not provide an adequate basis for valid judgment regarding the total population there is a dash placed in the appropriate column.

nonfarm, and urban children. The 1930 census figures gave the first complete analysis of this attendance factor by states and counties. Table 3 shows these differences for each of the forty-eight states in terms of 16-17-year-old boys and girls enrolled in school in 1930 and 1940, and 1950. The differences in numbers of 16-17-year-old farm and city boys and girls in school is greater in 1930 than in 1940 or 1950, yet the real difference that still exists in their school attendance is significant and an important consideration in developing programs in rural education.

The age of the adult farm population is an important factor in as-saying educational attainment. In a 5 percent sample of farmers and farm managers from the 1940 United States census for the northern United States is found proof of the general assumption that the older the farmer group the lower their educational attainment. Table 4 indi-

TABLE 4. The Educational Attainment of Farmers and Farm Managers in Northern United States for 1940 (5 percent sample)

Highest School Grade Completed	Age							
	18-19	20-21	22-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
No schooling					20	80	60	40
Grades 1-4					40	280	740	940
Grades 5-6					80	500	840	1320
Grades 7-8	60	120	180	480	780	3480	5940	5780
1-3 years of high school	20	20	160	140	440	900	1500	1380
4 years of high school	40	140	220	240	260	960	1080	760
1-3 years college			20	100	200	460	500	640
4 years college or more				40	100	120	220	160
Not reported			20		40	80	60	120
Total	120	280	600	1000	1960	6860	10940	11140

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*. Population, Education, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947, Table 25, pp. 125-128.

cates that, in the sample selected, no young farmer or farm manager 29 years of age or younger had less than seven grades of schooling, while in the group of farmers and farm managers from 55 to 64 years of age, 21 percent had less than seven grades of schooling. Sixty-six percent of the farmers and farm managers 22 to 24 years of age had some high-school education.

DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL

The United States census figures in Table 4, as well as recent research reports of the United States Office of Education and independent

studies, show the extent of dropout of rural children before graduation from high school. Some dropouts occur when students pass the compulsory attendance age maximum, others occur during the early years of high school, and in numerous cases where regulations are not rigid, dropouts occur before compulsory attendance age is reached.

Investigations concerning the high student dropout rate in rural schools have identified the most significant factors with which dropouts are associated.

In 1933, and again in 1937, ten Minnesota townships were surveyed by Nelson, Mitchell, and Jacobson. In 1933 an attempt was made to interview all young people between the ages of 15 and 24 in these townships. In 1937, the age limit was extended to 29. In 1933, there were 468, or 51.9 percent of the study population, enrolled in and attending a school grade approximating their ages. Four hundred thirty-three, or 48.1 percent, were listed as "retarded or left school." The proportions between the "on-time" and the "retarded or left-school" groups varied considerably among the ten townships. The difference between the attendance of boys and girls was noted and thus described: "The sex factor is even more important than geographical location in determining the degree of persistence in school. For the sample as a whole, slightly more than forty percent of the boys are 'on time' students or have completed high school, while sixty-eight percent of the girls are thus rated."²

There were but a small number of farm youths pursuing training beyond high school in these Minnesota townships. Only 6.4 percent of those interviewed had completed a year or more of advanced training.³

Reasons for leaving school were classified by the researchers into five categories. The most prominent reasons were "not interested," which was given by 45 percent of the interviewees, "needed at home," given by 23 percent, and "cannot afford to go," given by 19 percent. The reasons were constant among townships and, with the exception of the "cannot afford to go" category, were constant between boys and girls.

² Lowry Nelson, Donald Mitchell, and Ernst Jacobson, *Some Problems of Minnesota Rural Youth*, University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 358, 1942, pp. 1-19.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

Future educational plans of those interviewed were described as follows:

There is obviously a very close relationship between the proportion of young people in a given community who were high school graduates or students and the proportion of the younger group who planned to enter high school. Similarly, the plans for vocational or professional training beyond high school are largely conditioned by local standards and traditions.

A summary of the survey as a whole gives the following percentages in each category, the basis in each case being the 859 who answered the question regarding plans for future training: no plans, 62.5 per cent distributed as follows: 11.2 per cent completed high school, 7.3 per cent had taken some high school training, and forty-four per cent had eighth grade training or less; immediate plans, 25.4 per cent distributed as follows: 2.4 per cent in the eighth grade, eighteen per cent in high school, and five per cent in junior or senior college; postponed plans, 12.1 per cent.⁴

In 1940, Hay, Greenlaw, and Boyle reported on the dropout problems of North Dakota farm youth. They reported that, of the total study group of 2171 rural youth, 15 to 19 years of age, 80 percent were in school. Only 71.8 percent of the farm boys of this age were in school compared with 81 percent of the farm girls, 85.6 percent of the rural village boys, and 87.3 percent of rural village girls.⁵ The difference between boys and girls and among places of residence when compared on the basis of school attendance is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5. Relation of Average Age at Leaving School to Average Grade Completed

	Average Age at Leaving School	Average Grade Completed
Farm males	15.9 years	9.5 grade
Farm females	16.3 years	10.0 grade
Village males	17.1 years	10.3 grade
Village females	17.2 years	10.6 grade

SOURCE: Donald G. Hay, James P. Greenlaw, and Lawrence E. Boyle, *Problems of Rural Youth in Selected Areas of North Dakota*, University of North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, 1940, p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

⁵ Donald G. Hay, James P. Greenlaw, and Lawrence E. Boyle, *Problems of Rural Youth in Selected Areas of North Dakota*, University of North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, 1940, p. 43.

Reasons for dropping out of school were also considered in the North Dakota survey. Seventy-one percent of the answers fell into the following three categories: (1) financial, (2) needed at home, and (3) had no desire to go. Financial reasons were given by a higher percentage of girls than boys, being needed at home was given as a reason most often by farm residents, and more boys than girls in both farm and village gave as their reason that they had no desire to go.

In 1941, a study was begun of the ownership processes in a low-tenancy area of eastern Wisconsin.⁶ Certain educational implications grew from this investigation. Only 23 percent of the farmers of Wisconsin were then tenants. However, there are some areas of much less tenancy. Farmers in some parts of eastern Wisconsin are virtually all owner-operators. In an area centering in Manitowoc and Kewaunee counties less than 10 percent of the farmers are renters, and it has been this way since the country was first settled.

In the summary of the findings of the study, the alternatives offered the children are discussed. Families in the area studied had an average of about five children each. Evidence was not complete, but it was clear that a considerable number of the sons had gone out of the community to farm in other parts of the state.

The authors have this to say about the education of the children of these farm owner-operators.

It is common practice in the area for the children to drop out of school after the eighth grade and help at home for a few years. Nineteen per cent of the sons and daughters of present farmers in the area who are old enough to have completed the common school, have gone beyond the eighth grade; this nineteen per cent includes the relevant persons of all ages regardless of present residence or occupations. Six per cent of the sons and daughters of present farmers dropped out of school before completing the eighth grade.

There was naturally considerable difference among families in regard to education, but generally more of the children were going to high school at the time of the study than in earlier years. . . . No mention was ever made on the part of the parents that they had refrained from sending their children to high school because of the cost. In large families the possi-

⁶ Kenneth H. Parsons and Eliot O. Waples, *Keeping the Farm in the Family*, University of Wisconsin, Agricultural Experiment Station, 1945, p. 9.

bilities for every son to farm are limited, and some parents send children to high school because the children may prepare themselves for non-farm occupations. There was a group of older farmers who, realizing their lack of education, expressed determination to give their own children such advantages. On the whole, the younger generation of farmers in this community appreciate the advantages of education beyond the elementary schools, and it seems quite possible that more of their children, who become farmers, will attend high school or short courses at the University.⁷

Parsons and Waples discuss the small percentage of farm population over 25 years of age which has more than a high-school education, and the smaller proportion of farm boys than girls in this area who attend high school. They conclude:

Two points are implicitly at issue in these comparisons. The first: have the farm families of this area purchased their farms partly at the expense of their children's education? The evidence suggests that they have. The second: is this slighting of education a necessary part of the ownership pattern of the area? In the nature of the case this can not be answered definitely one way or another. However, it is the author's judgment that the difference in cost of the education programs, when compared with other sections of the state, is not a strategic factor in the success of the ownership programs of these families. However, this is an important question when generalized, and one which deserves much thoughtful attention of farm people and public servants alike.⁸

From 1941 through 1944, Ekstrom conducted a comprehensive study of the two Minnesota counties with the least number of 16- and 17-year-old farm youths attending school.⁹ Table 6 indicates that in Sibley County, 30.7 percent of the eighth-grade graduates did not enter high school, while in Morrison County, this figure was 39.2 percent. Nearly 10 percent of those beginning high school in Sibley County dropped out, while 14 percent dropped out in Morrison County. By 1945, 59.6 percent of the Sibley County eighth-grade graduates of 1941-1944 were in high school. In Morrison County, this figure was 45.8 percent.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹ G. F. Ekstrom, "Education of Farm Boys and Girls in Minnesota," *The Visitor*, January, 1946, pp. 1-4.

After analyzing the problem of which eighth-grade graduates continue their school work, Ekstrom states: "Evidence as to whether the more capable children attend high school was obtained by tabulating the scores achieved on the state board examinations for the graduates of the eighth grade in 1941, and who logically would be seniors in high school in 1944-45. The means of the scores for all subjects making up the examination in the eighth grade—English, general mathematics, general science and social studies were significantly higher for the pupils in high school than for those who did not enter and those who did enter and later withdrew."¹⁰

TABLE 6. School Attendance of Farm Boys and Girls Who Graduated from Eighth Grade, 1941-1944 Inclusive

	Sibley County		Morrison County	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total graduates	619	100.0	1466	100.0
Unaccounted	0	—	15	1.0
Did not enter high school	190	30.7	574	39.2
Entered high school but did not continue	60	9.7	205	14.0
In high school, January, 1945	369	59.6	672	45.8

SOURCE: G. F. Ekstrom, "Education of Farm Boys and Girls in Minnesota," *The Visitor*, January, 1946, p. 2.

The study further revealed that children who did not enter high school were members of large families in more cases than could be accounted for by chance. Likewise, failure to attend high school was found to be in close conformity with the educational pattern of the older brothers and sisters of those surveyed.

Ekstrom states further that the principal reasons given by the eighth-grade graduates for not entering high school were: (1) they were needed at home, (2) they did not care for school, and (3) transportation was not accessible. He said school administrators are inclined to believe that lack of parental encouragement is a greater factor than is implied by the responses obtained from the children. That transportation was an important factor was shown by one district where 69.2 per cent of the graduates in townships not served by busses terminated

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

their education with the eighth grade, compared with 36.3 percent of the graduates who lived in townships served by busses.¹¹

Of the eighth-grade farm graduates, 51.6 percent were boys and 48.4 percent were girls, but 59.5 percent of the dropouts from high school were boys and 40.5 percent were girls. Only a minority of the dropouts had actually failed in school, but the majority of those dropouts with failures had intelligence quotients below 100.

Pupils who left high school did not participate to an average degree in athletics or other school activities. The reasons pupils gave for leaving high school when they left or, if none were given, the reasons assigned by the school superintendent, fell into two main categories: (1) lack of interest and (2) lack of parental encouragement.¹²

Kreitlow and Dreier, in a comprehensive survey of four Minnesota counties in 1946, drew the following conclusions and made certain analyses pertaining to factors influencing school attendance, dropouts, and educational plans of rural youth.

1. The relatively high proportion of renters in some of our counties is a factor which makes for less education beyond the eighth grade. In general, the better the land, the higher the tenancy rate.
2. If a boy or girl lives in town, his anticipated education runs to a higher level than boys or girls from the farm. As the influences of urbanization reach the rural farm areas this difference will become less.
3. Boys and girls from family sized farms are less likely to attain a high degree of education than those from farms under 80 acres or over 320 acres. On family sized farms 80-320 acres, the size of the farm varies inversely with anticipated education.
4. Children from large farm families complete fewer years of school than do children from small families. The size of the farm family has been decreasing for several decades. If this trend continues, the inverse relationship between size of family and anticipated education will not be as important a factor as it appears today.
5. The higher the degree of education achieved by children's parents, the higher the degree of education the children will anticipate. Children's plans for education are aimed at a higher level than that attained

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

by their parents. If that continues and children reach or come near their goals, then the problem of education as we know it today will solve itself in the course of several decades.

6. The farther a boy or girl lives from high school, the lower is the degree of education anticipated. This conclusion was also reached in the studies by Nelson and Ekstrom of the education of rural farm children. No doubt the difference has become less as transportation facilities improved and will continue to be more uniform as those farther away from school have access to speedier transportation. Opportunity to attend school should not be stymied by lack of transportation to those in outlying areas.
7. Teacher encouragement of boys and girls to attend high school and remain in school is uniformly low in the four counties of the study. Teachers do not realize the vocational guidance activities that are potentially theirs. Here is a field for vast professional improvement.
8. Evidence indicates that the older boys in each grade are the most likely to drop out of school. Farm boys are those most likely to be in the older ages of each grade. The reasons for dropping out of school may well go back to factors which cause farm boys to be older in grade than town boys. Such items as retardation, length of rural school term, quality of rural teachers and similar factors need study before the real cause of this phenomenon can be ascertained.
9. Students believe work at home will cause them to leave high school. At the same time very few indicate their parents are not interested in further schooling for them. Town boys who gave reasons why they might leave school before graduation are more critical of their own scholastic ability and of the teachers as indicated by their reasons than other farm youth.
10. The differences in school attendance and anticipated education are greater between sexes than between farm and town boys or farm owners' and farm renters' sons. More boys than girls in the farm group plan to end their schooling with eighth grade, or less than four years of high school. More boys end their education with high school graduation, and fewer boys plan for college or university training. Fewer boys over sixteen years of age are found in school, while girls continue to attend even though over age in grade.
11. Rural youth attend high school because they believe that it will train them for jobs. This was evidenced by the high ratings given to the reasons for attending school, "It will train me for a job" and "It will pre-

pare me for further education." Evidently many girls said "It will train me for a job" when they meant that high school graduation was necessary before they could attend beauty culture school, business college, or teachers college.¹³

Irrespective of reasons why children do not attend school or drop out of school, the number of such cases is large. It is reported in the 1946-1948 biennial survey of education in the United States that 3,336,000 children between the ages of 5 and 17 were not in school.¹⁴ This is significant when compared to the 20,910,000 average daily attendance of children of those ages. Of the group not in school, 1,289,000 were of kindergarten age. Since rural schools are far behind urban schools in the provision of kindergartens, we can assume that a large majority of this group not in school were rural boys and girls. Of those not in school, 322,000 were of elementary-school age, and 349,000 of the age that would place them in the first two years of high school. The young people of the age to place them in the last two years of high school were out of school to the extent of 1,406,000.

In 1947-1948, 1,073,178 pupils graduated from high school. This was 61.6 percent of those entering as high-school freshmen in 1944-1945. Of those beginning their senior year in school in 1947-1948, 94.97% graduated at the end of the year. Even after high-school graduation has become the accepted practice in our total society, thousands of rural boys and girls will be handicapped because they were unable to or did not choose to finish high school.

FACTORS TENDING TO INCREASE THE LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

The level of school attainment in rural areas is increasing and the discrepancy between the school attainment of rural and urban children is becoming less. The reasons for this increase and for a continuing rise in the level of rural education are more pronounced than formerly.

¹³ Burton W. Kreitlow, and William H. Dreier, "Factors Which Influence School Attendance and Anticipated Education of Minnesota Rural Youth," *University of Minnesota Studies in Rural Education*, not published, December, 1946, pp. 242-245.

¹⁴ *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, chap. 2, 1946-1948. *Statistics of State School Systems*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950, p. 12.

COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAWS

The first of these reasons and one of the most pronounced is direct legislative action in raising the age of compulsory school attendance to sixteen or eighteen years. Graduation from the eighth grade was once sufficient to mean an end of formal education. Today only the most reactionary farmers or farm groups fail to see the value of a high-school education. It has been the general acceptance of a high-school education by farmers themselves that has encouraged rural legislators to increase the age of compulsory school attendance.

Compulsory attendance laws do not automatically assure attendance, since there are ways and means of circumventing them either by court appeals or through leniency of truant officers. In 1949, a typical compulsory education law to age 16 was passed in Wisconsin. Mork's study of the enforcement of this law during its first year showed that it was possible to enforce the law and force attendance of 90 percent of the cases brought to the attention of the county superintendents of schools.¹⁵ The forced attendance was accomplished largely by threat of court action rather than by court action itself. It was interesting to note that less than 5 percent of the cases of truancy actually reached the courts. The best method of enforcement reported by the county superintendents of schools in Wisconsin was a friendly yet businesslike visit with the parents of the truant boy or girl. Informative letters to parents also proved effective. In many cases this led to the parents and child calling at the office of the county superintendent of schools. If any difficulties arose it was but a short way to the judge's office for an informal hearing. It is safe to assume that only the parents and children with the most negative educational attitudes are brought to the attention of the county enforcement officers. The number of cases brought to the attention of the county enforcement officers ranged from less than 1 percent of 15-year-old boys and girls in school in several counties to 29 percent of the 15-year-old boys and girls in school in others.

Compulsory attendance laws are increasing the level of formal education, but it is evident that many rural people still have negative atti-

¹⁵ Oris A. Mork, "A Study of the 1949 Wisconsin Compulsory School Attendance Law," seminar report, University of Wisconsin, 1951, p. 12.

tudes toward education that make legislation the only means by which their children will remain in school. Other factors may be of significance, so that both a higher level of school attendance and school achievement will result.

IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

The phenomenal changes taking place in transportation and communication during the past two decades do mean broader contacts for farm people. With the expanded horizon made possible by better highways, faster cars, common air travel, more associations with village and city people, and radio and television programs, the farmer recognizes the values in a better educational foundation than he himself may have obtained. Rural people have always been willing to support educational programs when they feel they are needed. Modern transportation and communication are factors by which this recognition of need is being produced. People have more faith in discoveries they make themselves, and these two factors made more new discoveries possible. The need for a good educational program in rural America is being discovered.

EDUCATIONAL INERTIA

Another important factor in raising the level of education of the rural citizen is that produced by educational inertia. Numerous research studies in both rural and urban society have shown that parents generally desire as much or more education for their children than they themselves obtained. Kreitlow and Dreier reported, in a survey of Minnesota rural students, that this was true regardless of the level reached by the parents.¹⁶ It was also evident that the goal for the education of a farm family's children was generally higher than that obtained by the parent with the highest grade level reached. If the father had reached grade 8 and the mother had finished high school, it was common for them to prefer a college education for their children. If the father and mother had six and eight years of schooling respectively, it was common for them to prefer that their children have a high-school education. Those parents who suggested that their children complete eighth grade only were usually those who had less than eight

¹⁶ Kreitlow and Dreier, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

years of schooling themselves. This inertia, this desire to encourage their children to obtain a higher level of formal education than they themselves had, is a factor that is of considerable importance in raising the educational level.

CHANGING VALUES IN RURAL LIVING

A further factor of significance in raising the educational level of rural society is the change in values of rural people themselves. New things are becoming important to them. Where once the most important goals sought were in the form of independence and security on the farm, they now might logically include certain values that had been accepted solely by urban society. This does not mean an urbanization of rural society, but rather the creation of a new value orientation that includes the best of the old rural society, the most transferable urban values, and those new goals now possible because of our changed rural, urban, national, and world society. If rural society rigidly maintains its old orientation in the modern world, it will be overcome in short order. By careful selective changes, the efforts of the rural people enable them to maintain stability and import in a modern world. The value of a higher educational level is one item being selected in this process of creative social change.

THE INFLUENCE OF INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES ON EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

PUBLIC AGENCIES AND SERVICES

Education can be both formal and informal. Up to this point consideration has been focused largely on formal school education. It is well to be aware of the fact that educational agencies of a more informal nature are also significant in raising an individual's educational level. Significant among these are a number of public agencies and services. The Agricultural Extension Service and its vast network of professional and lay workers in every county does much to educate the rural citizen. The soil conservation service is concerned with an educational program that teaches recommended soil management practices.

This is shown in Figure 2. The Production and Marketing Administration depends upon education to improve agriculture. Even the R.E.A. has been influential in improving the educational status of its co-operators.



FIGURE 2. Public Agencies Such as the Soil Conservation Service Are Effectively Raising the Educational Level of the Rural Citizen. (Photo, Courtesy of the Soil Conservation Service.)

ORGANIZATIONS

There are numerous clubs and organizations that consider educational objectives their most important reason for existence. Others have educational objectives as a segment of the total job they hope to accomplish. In these two categories are the large farm organizations, the Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union, and the Grange. The coöperatives and commodity organizations belong in these groups as well as certain clubs organized on a local basis. The parent-teacher organizations, the League of Women Voters, the women's clubs, do much to improve the educational level of rural men and women.

MASS MEDIA

More informal still in their educational objectives are the mass media now available to most rural folk. The daily and weekly newspapers (see Figure 3), the farm journals, the national magazines, the radio in both house and barn, and more recently television, all are bringing facts, ideas, attitudes, skills, and just plain news to the attention of rural



FIGURE 3. The Weekly Newspaper Is an Effective Medium of Communication for Rural Citizens. (Photo, Courtesy of the University of Wisconsin.)

families during all their waking hours. It is true that much of the material could not be classified as education, yet in terms of volume the amount that is of an educational nature is immense. Compared to the meager coverage by the mass media in 1900 or even in 1930, today's rural folks are swamped with educational material from these sources.

The formal and informal educational resources of rural society need each other for maximum benefit. Without the basic educational program, many of our organizations and agencies could not be maintained. Likewise the informal agencies are at the action level, and much that

might be learned in the formal situation could never be of real value unless implemented by the practical applications possible in the programs of the informal educational agencies.

CAUSES OF POSITIVE ACTION TO IMPROVE RURAL EDUCATION

URBAN PRESSURE

Although the educational level of the rural citizen is lower than his urban counterpart, it is not necessarily a permanent difference. The progress in the educational efforts of rural society has been great during the past several decades. Rural folks are becoming more and more concerned with the education of themselves and their children. Behind this concern are several basic causes. First, there is the very real pressure of "keeping up." The cities have been able to obtain good schools and more years of schooling for their children. Although it is certainly more difficult to accomplish, the attitude in rural villages and among farmers often becomes one of "If they can do it, we can too," or "If it's good for them, it must be good for us." The progress toward achievement of that goal, increased education, is most heartening where it has been expressed in developing better education suitable to its rural environment. Merely copying city school plans and school curriculum has not been sufficient.

BREAK WITH THE FRONTIER CULTURE

The second factor associated with rural folks' consideration of a sounder educational program is their continuing break with the old frontier culture. As frontier values give way to new, as third-generation families replace the sons and daughters of the pioneers, as the mechanized age moves to the farm, so the farmers have broken with the simple ways of the early settlers. The complicated world is recognized and parents are preparing their children for it by changing the educational system.

MIGRATION OF FARM YOUTH

The third factor that prompts rural folks to see the need for improved educational offerings is the recognition of the cityward migra-

tion of the farm children when they become of productive age. Rural parents recognize the handicap placed upon those without educational advantages who must compete for jobs in an urban market. They also know that low city birth rates and high rural birth rates mean a continuation of this basic cityward trend. With that information, their understanding of the practical problems of those migrating youths is clear. Demands for better education are a result.

In a democratic society marked differences in the educational level among groups cannot long be condoned. Greater recognition of the differences by both rural and urban groups is occurring. Efforts to correct these discrepancies have become an accepted responsibility of all groups, rural and urban alike. In such correction it is first necessary to develop minimal programs, and secondly to leave open the opportunity for any group to add to its program. This will necessitate continuous demands for objective evaluation of both the minimal program for all groups and the maximal program where it can be developed. Beyond the minimal program, it will demand a new look at the program of rural education in terms of the objectives being crystallized in a changing rural society. Only thus can the educational level of the rural citizen be permanently raised and improved.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Obtain from your state department of public instruction a recent annual or biennial report. Mark all data and analyses that refer to persistence of school attendance.
 2. Write an interpretation of the data in Table 3 that pertains to school attendance in your region of the United States.
 3. Consult 17th U. S. Census for data regarding school attendance for the individual counties in your state.
 4. Consider as a possible class project the interviewing of at least twenty adults who have school attainment of eighth grade or less. Why was their education limited?
- B.
 1. How does the educational level of a community's adults influence the way you approach your job as a teacher? a 4-H worker? an adult educator?

2. In what ways does the nature of the farming occupation warrant as high an educational level for the farmer as for the nonprofessional urban worker?
3. Of what concern is a state compulsory attendance law to a high-school teacher?
4. What can teachers do to reduce the dropouts of 16-17-year-olds?
5. Do other rural education agencies have an obligation to prevent school dropouts? What obligation? Why?
6. What factors are responsible for the increase in adult participation in rural education programs of the farm organizations? the Agricultural Extension Service?
7. What responsibility does urban society have for rural youths who have migrated to the city after an early termination of their formal education?
8. What is the role of the teacher of agriculture in working with those farm students who "dropped out" before high-school graduation? of the Extension agent? of the teacher in a one- or two-room school?

CHAPTER 3

The Economic Base of Rural Education

FARM POPULATION IN RELATION TO FARM INCOME

FARM INCOME

The economic difficulty common to the majority of rural farm residents has left its mark on our rural school systems. It is not surprising that farmers hold conservative views regarding the development of schools in their districts. The support of schools has for the most part meant financing them on the basis of the general property tax. In terms of property the farmer has fared moderately well, but in terms of income from that property he has found great difficulties. Efforts to obtain good rural schools have met consistently with objections regarding the increased costs. The rural resident may not have opposed good schools, but he has opposed paying any more property taxes. The resulting stalemate is one of the factors responsible for the real differences in educational level between the farm and city citizen. The rural nonfarm family is caught in the squeeze. The rural farm and rural nonfarm population, taken independently, are too few in numbers to support modern educational programs by themselves. If the nonfarm rural village group desires school improvement, it often meets local farm opposition based largely on the real or expected cost of such improvement. When the rural nonfarm resident desires better education, he finds that he can do little to improve the total educational program without the honest coöperation and efforts of his farm neighbors.

Is the farmer in the financial position to support a stronger school

program? The answer is both yes and no. Income of farmers from 1942 to 1952 climbed to unprecedented levels, as did the income of village and urban citizens. Table 7 shows how wide the average income variation is between the farm worker and the industrial worker. The disparity between the farm and nonfarm worker on a per capita basis is even clearer. In a study reported by Brandow and Allison, the 1944 incomes of persons living on commercial farms was \$875 per year and on noncommercial farms \$400 per year, while the per capita income of all persons not living on farms was \$1,311.¹

TABLE 7. Average Incomes of Farm and Industrial Workers, 1935-1949

Year	Farm Worker		Industrial Worker	
	Average Income	Percent Change from Previous Period	Average Income	Percent Change from Previous Period
1935-1939	\$ 515		\$1217	
1941	739	+43	1559	+28
1947	2031	+175	2648	+70
1949	1735	-15	2900	+10

SOURCE: Walter W. Wilcox and Willard W. Cochran, *Economics of American Agriculture*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, p. 496.

The evidence in Figure 4 indicates clearly how the farmer's share of national income remained quite stable during the last decade of higher farm prices. It also indicates clearly how out of proportion his income is to his numbers in the total population. In 1950, farm residents made up approximately 17 percent of the total United States population and received just over 8 percent of the total United States net income.

There are certain items of income on the farm that never show up in national income figures, which tend to raise the farmer's income above that shown in Table 7 and Figure 4. An example often mentioned is that his expenses for clothing are less than those of the urbanite because he can wear rugged, cheap work clothes while the urbanite often must wear suits or moderately expensive clothes. It is true that there are items of this nature for which his expenses are less, yet they by no means make up for the vast difference between the pro-

¹ G. E. Brandow, and H. E. Allison, "Per Capita Incomes on Commercial and Non-Commercial Farms," *Journal of Farm Economics*, February, 1951, pp. 119-123.

portion of income obtained and the proportion of the population engaged in farming.

As the total national economy has gone through a period of sustained inflation, so has the value of farm sales, farm purchases, and farm land. The United States Department of Agriculture recently reported by states the index numbers of average farm real-estate value per acre, based on an index of 100 for the years 1912-1914. Table 8 indicates

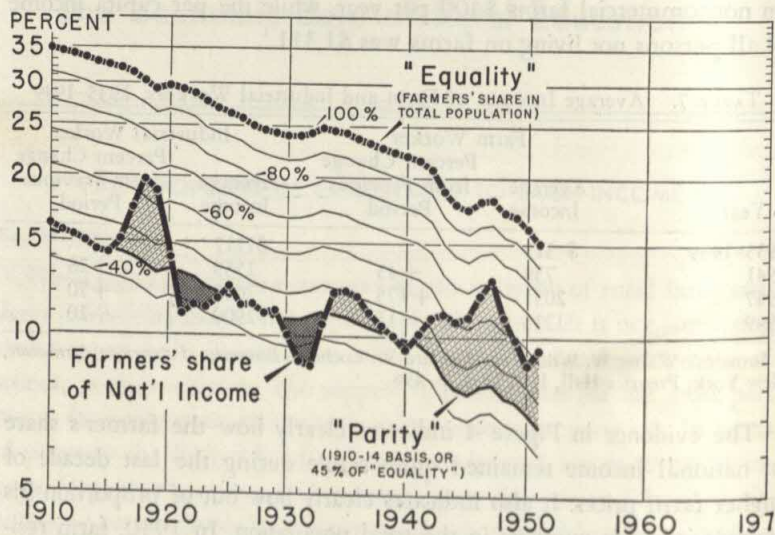


FIGURE 4. The Farmers' Share in the National Income, 1910-1951, Compared with "Equality" and "Parity."

the deflationary and inflationary trends in farm real estate from 1920 to March, 1951. In terms of value of real estate per acre, the farmers appear to be in a better position to support an educational program than ever before in history. There is a slight variation among the states, with the West North Central and New England states showing the lowest index figure as of March, 1951.

The increase in dollar value of farm land from 1935-1939 until March, 1953, is likewise reported by the U.S.D.A.² Figure 5 shows how consistently high these increases have been during nearly two decades. Unfortunately, these increased values have by no means been distrib-

² U.S.D.A. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *The Farm Real Estate Market*, p. 4.

TABLE 8. Farm Real Estate: Index Numbers of Average Value per Acres, by States, March, 1951, with Comparisons^a
(1912-1914 = 100)

State and Division	1920	1930	1940	1947	1948	1949	1950 (March)	1951 ^b (March)
Maine	142	124	95	134	138	147	137	130
New Hampshire	129	111	94	136	142	144	136	142
Vermont	150	123	101	166	171	185	176	185
Massachusetts	140	131	113	145	154	159	152	163
Rhode Island	130	134	120	174	183	191	184	199
Connecticut	137	140	124	186	193	195	191	204
NEW ENGLAND	140	127	106	152	159	166	158	163
New York	133	103	86	138	142	155	151	159
New Jersey	130	125	116	185	188	196	195	205
Pennsylvania	140	107	90	143	154	165	157	180
MID. ATLANTIC	136	106	90	144	151	162	157	172
Ohio	159	90	77	158	166	175	167	200
Indiana	161	80	74	158	172	176	174	208
Illinois	160	91	75	141	150	158	162	190
Michigan	154	121	91	194	198	202	199	228
Wisconsin	171	117	84	135	145	152	145	162
E. N. CENTRAL	161	96	78	152	161	168	166	194
Minnesota	213	133	86	143	157	164	169	197
Iowa	213	113	74	134	150	154	157	183
Missouri	167	92	59	113	116	123	124	144
North Dakota	145	95	52	92	110	118	114	125
South Dakota	181	93	41	77	91	98	97	112
Nebraska	179	113	58	108	126	139	130	153
Kansas	151	113	71	140	163	169	167	187
W. N. CENTRAL	184	109	65	119	135	142	141	163
Delaware	139	111	89	160	163	163	158	171
Maryland	166	123	100	196	201	206	200	220
Virginia	189	134	112	224	226	246	235	267
W. Virginia	154	105	85	137	149	155	139	155
N. Carolina	223	158	138	310	324	341	344	380
S. Carolina	230	104	89	196	208	224	204	225
Georgia	217	100	82	173	180	195	182	200
Florida	178	172	133	226	210	206	210	252
S. ATLANTIC	198	128	107	217	223	236	228	255
Kentucky	200	127	113	264	264	284	274	312
Tennessee	200	123	108	243	258	271	265	294
Alabama	177	143	122	247	252	275	261	290
Mississippi	218	122	106	216	238	251	246	284
E. S. CENTRAL	199	128	112	246	256	273	264	298
Arkansas	222	141	95	214	235	260	246	284
Louisiana	198	132	121	205	202	230	225	240

TABLE 8. Farm Real Estate: Index Numbers of Average Value per Acres, by States, March, 1951, with Comparisons^a (Continued)
(1912-1914 = 100)

State and Division	1920	1930	1940	1947	1948	1949	1950 (March)	1951 ^b (March)
Oklahoma	166	127	93	169	185	211	205	240
Texas	174	138	99	165	187	187	182	216
W. S. CENTRAL	177	136	99	170	190	197	191	225
Montana	126	72	55	117	129	130	125	141
Idaho	172	116	86	160	168	165	158	166
Wyoming	176	98	68	147	168	169	159	186
Colorado	141	83	61	141	157	156	149	163
New Mexico	144	110	84	168	181	193	188	214
Arizona	165	123	95	176	181	180	172	202
Utah	167	126	89	136	146	146	141	152
Nevada	135	99	70	107	114	114	109	117
MOUNTAIN	151	102	76	149	161	163	156	176
Washington	140	110	84	170	174	168	157	166
Oregon	130	107	84	152	156	152	141	153
California	167	160	121	244	234	215	196	220
PACIFIC	156	142	108	215	210	196	180	199
UNITED STATES	170	115	84	159	170	175	169	193

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *The Farm Real Estate Market*, pp. 1-3.

^a All farm lands with improvements as of March 1, except as indicated.

^b Figures for March, 1951, were preliminary.

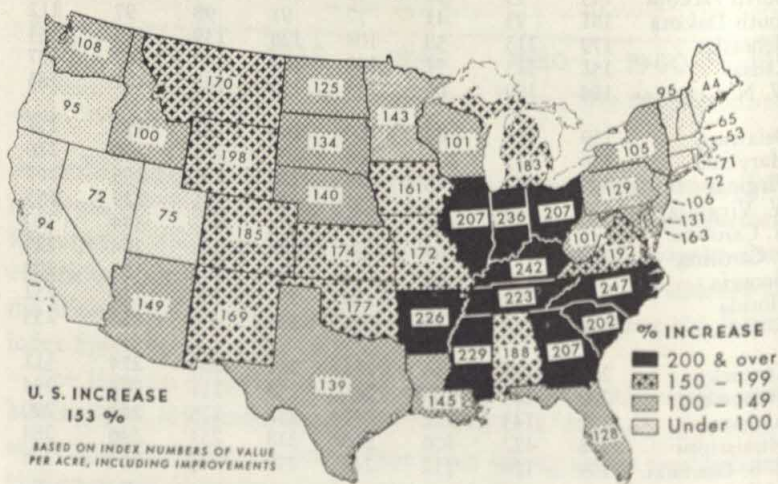


FIGURE 5. The Increase in Dollar Value of Farm Land, 1935-1939, Average to 1953. (U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

uted equally to farm residents, nor do they represent a comparable increase in income to large numbers of farmers. The majority of farmers still have less income than the average of the urban resident.

Classification of farms based on the size of the farming operation measured in terms of products produced is one of the clearest ways of showing the unequal distribution of producing ability which exists among the nation's farms. Table 9 divides the nation's farms into

TABLE 9. Number and Percentage of Farms and Value of Farm Products Sold by Economic Class, 1944

Economic Class	Number of Farms	Percent of All Farms	Percent of All Cropland	Percent of Total Value of Products Sold
Large-scale Commercial-family	102,136	1.7	11.1	24.1
Large	408,914	7.0	22.3	25.3
Medium	1,172,971	20.0	34.4	30.6
Small	1,661,920	28.4	21.7	15.4
Small-scale	923,459	15.8	5.7	3.0
Part-time units	602,212	10.3	1.7	0.9
Nominal units	987,277	16.8	3.1	0.7
Total	5,858,889	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Walter W. Wilcox and Willard W. Cochrane, *Economics of American Agriculture*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, p. 124.

economic classes and describes them in terms of their number and value of products sold. It is interesting to note that 1.7 percent of the farms which make up the large-scale farming group produce about one-fourth of all products sold. The criteria for setting up the economic classes in Table 9 were these:

Total Value of Products, 1944

Large-scale	Over \$20,000
Commercial-family	
Large	\$8,000-19,999
Medium	3,000- 7,999
Small	1,200- 2,999
Small-scale	500- 1,199
Part-time units (100 days work off farm)	250- 1,199
Nominal units	Under \$250

Payment of more taxes to support better education is a real problem to people with less than average income. It is a real problem to most

farmers. Actually, there is considerable concentration of farm income among the top one-third of the nation's farmers. The Bureau of Census estimated that 80 percent of the total farm production of the United States comes from one-third of the producers, and that the lower one-third of the producers produce only 4 percent of the total farm production. The tendency for the size of the more profitable farming operation to increase may mean an even greater difference among the various production groups in the farm economy. In 1950 the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago reported that, in one state (Wisconsin), two-fifths of

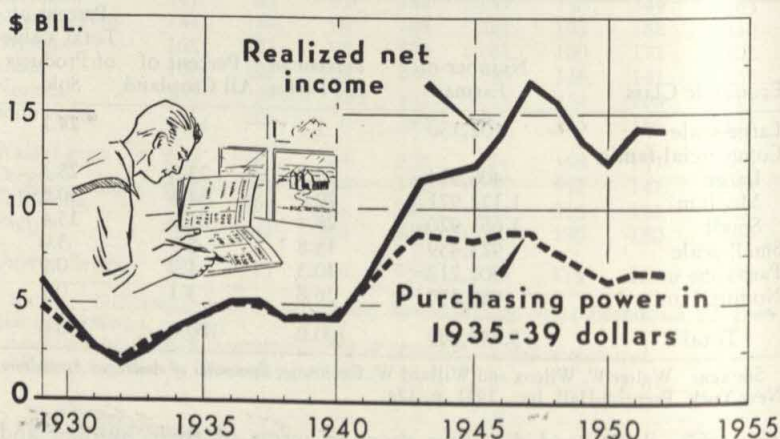


FIGURE 6. Farm Operators' Realized Net Income and Its Purchasing Power. (U.S. Department of Agriculture.)

all farm sales were to present farm owners who were adding more land to their farming units.

Evidence that, during periods of prosperity the actual purchasing power of the farmers' income dollar remains low is shown in Figure 6. In this case, Bureau of Agricultural Economics figures indicate an actual increase in farmers' purchasing power beginning in 1940, yet their realized net income rose considerably higher. This disparity in net income and actual purchasing power is a factor related to the hesitancy of farm people to spend freely for educational purposes.

BIRTH RATE ON FARMS

The fact that the size of a family increases as we move from urban to rural nonfarm to farm residence is significant in the educational

program of rural America. It means simply that where we have the least wealth, we have the most children. As more and more rural people demand a richer educational program, the problem of financing such a program becomes greater. There is no evidence to indicate that the farm population will produce fewer children per family than will any other group in our population. Evidence as far back as 1800 indicates that farm families have consistently been larger. The only exception is the 1950 census when in many states suburban areas showed the highest birth rate. Table 10 summarizes the information concerning the

TABLE 10. Children 0 to 4 Years of Age per 1,000 Women 16 to 44 in the United States and Selected States
(White Population Only)^a

Year	United States	Agricultural States	Semi-industrial States	Industrial States
1940	336	431	392	306
1930	402	526	454	370
1920	489	629	534	458
1880	611	759	640	500
1840	835	966	773	697
1800	1000	1043	962	786

SOURCES: Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942, p. 167; P. K. Whelpton, "Industrial Development and Population Growth," *Social Forces*, 1928, p. 462.

^a In 1930 Mexicans were included with whites.

general rural birth rates reported by Thompson and Whelpton. Even when the classification is as broad as that evidenced by industrial, semi-industrial, and agricultural states, the persistence of more children in rural families stands out boldly. Theoretically, the acceptance of urban values and culture by rural society may make for a leveling off of this difference, but thus far it has not seemed too significant. Table 10 shows, for example, a lower crude birth rate in 1940 than in 1800, yet the agricultural states were 32 percent higher in 1800, and 47 percent higher in birth rate in 1940, than the industrial states. The total birth rate trend from 1880 to 1940 was down, with urban areas moving down more rapidly than farm.

The World War II and postwar "baby boom" has made a considerable difference in the crude birth rate during the 1940-1950 decade. In 1940, there were 322 white children under 5 years of age per 1000 white women 15 to 44 years of age. By 1950, the increase changed these figures to 469 children per 1000 women.

ABILITY TO SUPPORT EDUCATION

In terms of property, income, and number of children, much of the farm population has had and will continue to have great difficulties in supporting the kind of educational program deemed essential to develop literate and well-adjusted adults. Many characteristics of a modern school program look like "so much window dressing" to someone whose tax dollars are difficult to raise. Under these conditions, it becomes absolutely essential that the dollars be used efficiently.

WEALTH LEAVING THE FARM

EXCHANGE OF PRODUCE

There is a constant exchange of wealth between farm and village, farm and city, and village and city. Most of these exchanges are normal two-way business operations and, as far as the farmer is concerned, he generally provides the raw materials to village or city and receives cash with which to purchase machinery, processed foods, clothing, and the modern essentials for what he considers an adequate rural life. The rural village provides service to both farmer and urban business, and in exchange for his labor, storage, transportation, or initial processing, receives wages or profits.

Farmers and small rural village people often feel that in this exchange of goods the producer does not receive his fair return. It is often claimed that the marketing and processing make up too great a share of the ultimate consumer's dollar. Lack of understanding of what is involved in preparing and distributing the raw product generally accounts for the feeling that something is unfair in the total process. Forster and Leager³ point out that, in reviewing this problem, the size of the margin between producer's and consumer's prices varies greatly among products. In livestock, this variation is partially explained by the fact that, on the average, dressed cattle are only 53.2 percent of their live weight. For hogs, this dressed-out figure is 63.2 percent, and for sheep it is 47.3 percent. On this basis, it becomes evident that the

³ G. W. Forster, and Marc C. Leager, *Elements of Agricultural Economics*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. 204-205.

farmer must sell 1.88 pounds of live weight to produce 1 pound of beef, and 1.37 pounds of live hog to produce 1 pound of pork. Table 11 shows how the producer's portion of the consumer's dollar varies from one farm product to another. Without an understanding of the effort involved and the normal weight loss in processing, it is quite difficult for a farmer to see why he sometimes receives less than one-fourth of the retail price for his product.

TABLE 11. The Producer's (Farmer's) Portion of the Consumer's Dollar for Selected Products

Product	Producer's Portion of Consumer's Dollar (percent)
Meat	51.0
Cotton	7.5
Wool	11.4
Butter	68.0
Fluid milk	55.0
Poultry and eggs	66.0
White bread	12.0
White flour	43.0
Apples	41.0
Canned tomatoes	16.0

SOURCE: G. W. Forster and Marc C. Leager, *Elements of Agricultural Economics*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, p. 206.

In our frontier society, there was but minor money exchange among farm, rural village, and city people. With the industrial revolution and the recent industrialization on the farms this exchange has become enormous. For example, between the years 1945-1950, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture reports an increase of from 2,425,000 farm tractors to 3,000,000. Combines on farms increased 74 percent; corn pickers, 53 percent; and milking machines, 117 percent.

The increase in volume of these purchases is best described by a chart produced by the United States Department of Agriculture. Figure 7 indicates not only the great overall increase of farmers' purchases of machinery and motor vehicles, but shows how these purchases are related to the war and business cycles.

This industrialization of the family farm has meant a flood of farm

dollars being exchanged for urban industrial products. With fewer and fewer farmers to produce, the per capita exchange becomes greater. In a very normal fashion, wealth leaves the farm in exchange for products which the farmer believes will increase his productive capacity and his profits.

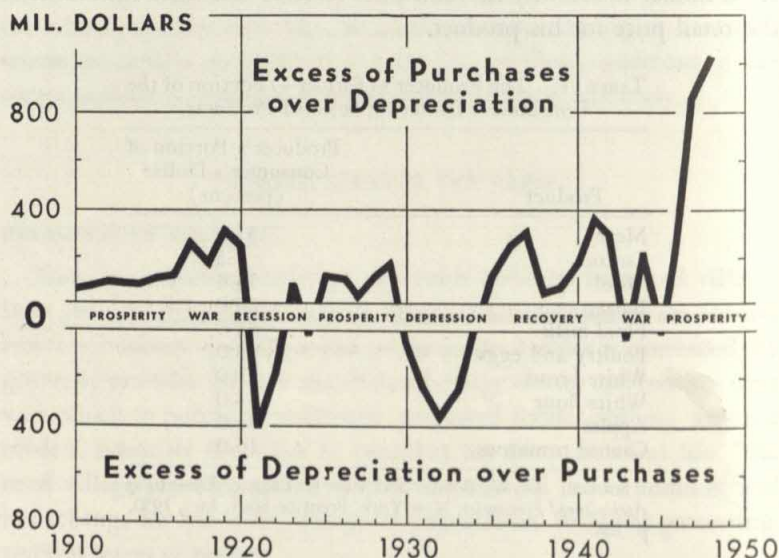


FIGURE 7. Trends in Farmers' Purchases of Machinery and Motor Vehicles. (U.S. Department of Agriculture.)

MIGRATION

This normal exchange in the production and marketing of food and fiber does not apply, however, to another form of wealth leaving the land—the young men and women. With consistently higher birth rates in rural areas, and with a declining proportion of our population needed for farm production, there has been a constant movement of human resources from farm to city. From 1790 until 1953, the urban population growth has been greater than the rural. Until 1880, with the exception of the decade 1810–1820, this urban gain was double that of the rural gain. After 1880 the gain of cities was even faster with the exception of the decade 1930–1940, which covered the Great De-

pression. From 1920 to 1950 the rural population declined from 49 percent of the total population to 41 percent. The rural farm population declined from 29.7 percent to 18.7 percent of the total during that same thirty-year period.

The people leaving farms have been predominantly young people just moving into their most productive years. They were born on farms or in rural villages. They were cared for during the years of early dependency. They were educated as best possible by a segment of our society with more children than it could use and then, when the children became old enough to produce, they moved to the city. There is little exchange here. The seedbed of our society has been sending one-half of its young men and women to urban areas for years—but only after thousands of dollars have been expended preparing them to be useful members of society.

It is not likely that this movement of wealth in the form of young men and women will cease. A desire to better one's income is basic in a free enterprise economy and, after weighing the possibilities of financial success on a farm or in a rural village or by migrating to the city, the young people make their decision. It is within the realm of possibility that the farm population can be reduced to one-half its number during the next generation and still maintain or even increase production. The greatest movement of wealth to urban areas will continue to be in the form of human resources.

MORTGAGE PAYMENTS

A large and significant movement of wealth to the cities takes place in the form of mortgage payments. These are both to the large financial organizations, such as banks and insurance companies, and to individuals who come into inheritances left by farm families. A usual experience of farm families, for example, is to have two of four children leave the farm and settle in the city. When the parents die and the estate is probated, it is common for the four children to share equally. One of the sons may have been farming the property making up the bulk of the estate, and in order to obtain complete ownership it becomes necessary for him to pay off the others sharing in the inheritance. Most likely he will obtain a loan from some lending institution, mortgage

the property, and pay his brothers and sisters the necessary amounts of cash. In this common example, the wealth movement from farm to city is immense. Two youths raised and educated and later paid an equal share in the estate account for the cityward movement of thousands of dollars without exchange.

DIFFERENTIAL INCOME AMONG STATES

There are wide differences in the ability of different states to support an educational program. For example, we find that in terms of income per child of school age (5–17 years) in 1939–1940, five states are well over an index of 150 (U. S. index 100) in income per child. These states are New York, California, Connecticut, Nevada, and Delaware. Likewise there are five states on the other extreme, having an index of less than 50. They are South Dakota, North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi. It would be very difficult for the latter five to obtain the kind of an educational program that would be possible in the five states with an index of over 150. Even with maximum effort they couldn't hope to produce the results possible with but average effort by the five highest states. In terms of the states mentioned, we can see that the high-index states are predominantly urban, while the low-index states are largely rural. Here we see again the basic facts behind the rural school problem—many children and little money. Actually, in terms of the nation's total wealth, the urban child has approximately a ten to one advantage over the rural child. In practice, the extra effort of rural areas takes up most of the slack, and financial indices of school support show the advantage to be less than two to one. This extra effort by rural citizens cannot always be seen merely by looking at the schools. In some rural areas it may take twice the effort per unit of income to provide a poor school that it takes in a city to provide an adequate school. Mississippi, which in 1939–1940 had the lowest level of school support in the United States, spent 3.41 percent of its income to support schools which had available but \$400 per classroom unit. New York, on the other hand, spent 2.61 percent of its income to support schools that provided \$4,100 per classroom unit.⁴

⁴ Carl C. Taylor and others, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. 94–97.

In 1948, New York had an income of \$10,880 per child of school age, whereas the state of Mississippi had an income of only \$2,745 per child of school age. It is significant to know that the differences between income per child in the most wealthy and least wealthy states increased in the last decade. In 1940 the average income per census-age child in the eight highest states was \$4,205; in the eight lowest it was \$1,049. In 1948 the average income per census-age child in the eight highest states was \$10,009; in the eight lowest it was \$3,469. The average for

TABLE 12. Rural vs. Urban Trends in Average Salary, Current Expenditure, Average Length of School Term, and Related Items: 1935-1936, 1941-1942, and 1947-1948
(Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 36 States Combined)

	1935-1936		1941-1942		1947-1948	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
<i>Financial</i>						
Average salary of instructional staff	\$844	\$1,874	\$1,009	\$2,072	\$2,086	\$3,174
Total current expenditure per pupil in ADA	63	93	89	119	173	206
Capital outlay per pupil in ADA	9	6	7	6	19	12
<i>Nonfinancial</i>						
Average length of school term	166	182	169	182	172	183
Percent of pupils in attendance daily	82.8	86.8	87.5	84.7	86.9	85.7
Percent of total ADA	44	56	43	57	44	56

SOURCE: *Education in Rural and City School Systems*, Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, p. 3.

all states during these years was \$2,529 in 1940 and \$6,795 in 1948.⁵

These differences in ability to support schools are in evidence in Table 12, which shows certain financial and nonfinancial differences between rural and urban education. It is to be noted that in all items except capital outlay per pupil the urban schools show a decidedly greater expenditure. The differences in capital outlay per pupil are assumed to be due to the inefficiency of providing new grounds, buildings, and equipment for the small numbers of pupils in separate rural

⁵ *Public School Finance Programs of the Forty-Eight States*, Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, U. S. Office of Education, pp. 2-3.

school administrative units. The urban schools can make these and even more complete provisions at less per pupil cost. In teachers' salaries, current expenditure per pupil, and average length of school term, the urban schools have a decided advantage.⁶ This indicates a more adequate educational service available in the urban schools.

DIFFERENTIAL INCOMES WITHIN STATES

The differences in ability to support an educational program not only vary among states but are very sharp within states. The financial summaries of 563 Wisconsin farms from nine regions of the state in 1949 show how great these differences are, even among the better farms. The farms used in this study, which was conducted by the Department of Agricultural Economics in coöperation with the T.V.A. and the U.S.D.A., are those where the farmers were progressive enough to seek farm management help from these three agencies. In general it is safe to say that the farms described are better managed, and are more productive than those in their immediate vicinity. Yet, with all these qualifications, they still show large income differences among the areas of the state. Table 13 indicates a range in capital investment of from \$21,005 to \$40,833. The range in total income is from \$6,635 to \$17,129. The lowest capital investment, as well as the lowest total income, is from the northern area of the state. The labor income is the most significant item in the table, and shows that in the northern area it averages \$578 for the forty-eight farms studied. In the southwest area, labor income was \$3,495 for five farms, and in the southern area labor income was \$3,152 for the ninety-three farms coöperating in the program. If we consider that approximately 3,500 hours of labor are required on a family-size farm in a year, the hourly wage on labor income ranges from sixteen and one-half cents per hour on the northern area farms to one dollar per hour in the southwest area.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RURAL ECONOMY IN THE SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

Whether or not a certain village or farming area was poor or wealthy was of little significance when the role of the school in education was

⁶ *Education in Rural and City School Systems*, Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, pp. 3-5.

limited to the 3 R's. However, as the school's role in the educational development of our youth has increased, so have the financial obligations necessary to fill that role. The economic base upon which a modern school program is built is a prime factor for consideration by city, village, and farm alike.

SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FARMER

The farmers have been the last of the three groups to demand comprehensive educational programs in their schools. This hesitancy may be related to their lower position in ability to support a comprehensive program. In view of the migratory characteristics of farm young people, it could be validly claimed that farm children have the greatest need for good schools. The ability to support good schools is of special consideration to farmers. Working with other farmers only, and putting forth extreme financial effort, they might be able to do a partially adequate job of supporting elementary programs. But, when the junior high and high-school grades are reached, a modern program demands sufficient children to make possible a broad, rich curriculum with up-to-date equipment and sufficient teachers trained in special fields. This requires coöperation between the rural farm and rural nonfarm citizen.

There is less wealth per pupil in many farm areas. This fact places the farmers in a difficult position in terms of supporting a good school program. There are several school organization choices open to farm people. They may attempt to operate as much of the school program as possible on a limited one-room district basis. This has been a common pattern in farm areas of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Michigan. In deciding to maintain the one-room school system, the farmers definitely choose to be independent of village or city in support of their elementary schools. They are willing to do what is possible with the meager resources available. They often seek the cheapest rather than the best for their school. Their efforts to keep the one-room school are a choice between tradition and progress, rather than a financial choice or an educational choice. The one-room school is often maintained, not because it is cheaper to operate or because the farm group believes that it can have a better education for its children, but because the early settlers built it, grand-

TABLE 13. Financial Summary Statement of 563 Wisconsin Farms by Areas (1949)

	North	North- west	West	South- west	South	Mil- waukee	East	Central	North Central	State
Number of farms	48	23	86	5	93	26	241	21	20	563
Size: Total acres	216	184	172	187	175	196	153	216	177	172
Crop acres	62	87	77	99	108	126	93	91	72	91
No. of cows	14	18	17	20	23	28	21	14	18	20
No. of livestock units	23	32	28	40	41	46	34	24	27	33
Capital invested	21,005	25,862	22,851	40,833	63,007	40,222	30,088	21,683	22,435	28,991
Production: BF sold per cow (lb.)	284	321	271	283	311	303	295	272	289	295
Price of BF per pound (¢)	86	87	86	84	98	103	88	82	83	91
Crop value per acre (\$)	38	39	45	70	63	55	58	42	37	54
Returns \$100 feed used (\$)	173	189	173	165	175	168	151	166	170	163
Diversity: % cash not milk	37	47	46	45	50	39	46	53	35	47
Farm income: Milk	3,541	4,895	3,860	4,862	7,046	8,653	5,463	3,193	4,398	5,312
Cattle	790	2,030	1,135	916	2,398	2,655	1,577	1,270	1,210	1,616
Hogs	86	537	752	2,303	1,743	1,017	1,069	682	220	991
Poultry and eggs	156	974	646	612	772	416	730	731	295	654
Crops	278	179	299		1,285	631	911	387	86	726
Miscellaneous	734	595	405	174	712	798	694	503	575	640
Equipment and real-estate sales	108	28	114		222	106	300	128	36	205
Total cash income	5,693	9,238	7,211	8,867	14,178	14,276	10,744	6,894	6,820	10,144
Increase in inventory	942	1,745	787	3,481	1,903	2,853	1,438	1,606	525	1,443
Total income	6,635	10,983	7,998	12,348	16,081	17,129	12,182	8,500	7,345	11,587

TABLE 13. Financial Summary Statement of 563 Wisconsin Farms by Areas (1949) (Continued)

	North	North- west	West	South- west	South	Mil- waukee	East	Central	North Central	State
<i>Farm Expenses:</i> Feed	799	1,619	886	1,002	1,585	2,006	1,558	1,011	1,234	1,382
Equipment and auto	613	825	704	1,160	1,254	1,227	1,143	757	684	1,011
Livestock	293	511	320	401	666	939	469	329	369	478
Crop	518	968	661	750	1,236	1,097	860	706	737	867
Labor	354	471	552	232	1,334	1,550	657	378	356	736
Real estate	118	161	143	142	330	253	208	110	90	202
Taxes	260	367	364	602	425	432	333	284	316	352
Miscellaneous	300	375	330	297	708	611	506	251	344	476
Operating expense	3,255	5,297	3,960	4,586	7,538	8,115	5,734	3,826	4,130	5,504
Livestock purchased	160	274	177	217	873	1,333	373	308	120	435
Equipment purchased	954	1,223	960	1,191	1,506	1,513	1,704	1,112	770	1,405
Farm improvements	337	942	313	129	876	1,000	920	360	286	725
Unpaid family labor	301	147	102	689	336	247	151	48	143	192
Total expense	5,007	7,883	5,512	6,812	11,129	12,208	8,882	5,654	5,449	8,261
Net farm income	1,628	3,100	2,486	5,536	4,952	4,921	3,300	2,846	1,896	3,326
Interest on capital (5%)	1,050	1,293	1,142	2,041	1,800	2,011	1,594	1,084	1,122	1,450
Labor income	578	1,807	1,344	3,495	3,152	2,910	1,796	1,762	774	1,876

SOURCE: Department of Agricultural Economics, College of Agriculture, Madison, Wis.—T. V. A. cooperating with U.S.D.A.

father was on the first school board, or mother obtained all her schooling there. It is kept as an emotional tie to the past and gives farm folk a sense of security in having at least one institution remain the same as it was in "the good old days."

The second important choice of the farmer is to join with other farmers and form elementary districts capable of a relatively good elementary-school program in schools of at least four teachers for eight grades. Here the farmer is definitely casting the die in favor of rural education instead of tradition. He is not willing to break completely with rural tradition, so he compromises on the choice of a larger district made up of predominantly farm people. The area of the district is still quite small, and transportation of children does not become a problem. He is not willing in this choice to coöperate fully with the rural village or city in a comprehensive school program.

The third choice is that of seeking the best in rural education by coöperation with the rural village on a school program from kindergarten through high school. This is a definite break with tradition, and acceptance by the farmers of their role as one part of a total rural society. It indicates that they recognize the educational advantages of bringing sufficient children under one roof so that a complete school program is possible.

These choices are the basic ones being made. The economic background of the farm population is such that they must be made. For the farmer it is a real problem to decide what to do in light of his financial resources. Should he "get by" as cheaply as possible and let education suffer? Should he forget tradition and accept the logical arguments of educators and village leaders in coöperating on a total community school program? Should he take a traditional middle of the road course and coöperate only with other farmers in meeting the educational needs of elementary-age youth?

SIGNIFICANCE TO THE VILLAGE RESIDENT

The village resident is in a somewhat different position and has no real choice to make. The rural village attitudes toward more adequate education have been consistently more positive than the farmers'. Village residents have had more schooling than farmers, and expect and

demand more for their youngsters. Yet in many rural villages the financial base of the village is such that a good school program cannot be supported even if certain state aids are available. The villages then often turn to farmers in the community for help. A traditionally independent and suspicious attitude toward villagers is often expressed by farmers in this situation. Efforts of the village citizen may not be successful because of farmer reaction to the villager's nearly always honest effort to improve educational opportunities for rural village and rural farm alike. The educational leaders in rural villages are willing to try nearly any plan to improve educational opportunities for their children. The farm attitude is one obstacle to overcome in these efforts. Another obstacle is often the group of businessmen in the smaller villages who oppose any proposal to move the high school from their town. Since it is often necessary to combine two or more small high schools to make one large enough to provide good facilities, this problem does arise. The choice the village citizens make in this case is definitely one involving business motives on one hand and sound education on the other.

SIGNIFICANCE TO THE URBAN CITIZEN

The urban citizen has a real stake in the educational programs of rural schools. Since one-half of the rural children eventually will live in urban areas, the kind of schooling rural children have is important to the cities to which they migrate. Understanding this fact, and willingness to accept certain responsibilities in relation to it are evidenced in the numerous systems of state aids for schools that have as their source taxes collected from income, luxury taxes, or comprehensive sales taxes. Although they are by no means providing a complete equalization of educational programs, they do help compensate for the lower rural economic base and the higher proportion of rural children per family that are to be educated.

EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

In nearly all respects the development of any educational program in the country suffers economically in comparison to the possibilities in

the city where it is a simple matter to bring sufficient children, adults, or any mixed group into contact with the sources of learning.

Overcoming the economic obstacles has been attempted in many programs of educational agencies. The Agricultural Extension Service has developed as it has because of its arrangement for the use of both federal and state funds at the local level, with maximum local (county) control. Public libraries propose to improve their position with county or regional units serving a minimum of 25,000 persons. All these efforts are part of the attempt to improve educational opportunity for those small rural groups with an insufficient economic base to do a good job by themselves.

EFFICIENT SCHOOL UNITS

The leaders of public-school education have made similar efforts to equalize opportunities. Educators' first efforts were made soon after our small rural district pattern was established. Plans were attempted that had as their goal a more efficient school unit both financially and educationally. This has been a most difficult task, yet one that seems basic to any total equalization program. Since 1945, a great deal of educative and legislative effort has been expended to speed up the process. More efficient and more productive units have been rapidly formed in Texas, Arkansas, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Washington, Missouri, North Dakota, Idaho, Kansas, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky have made an extra effort to view their schools with the chief goal of improving and equalizing opportunities of their boys and girls. The production of a more efficient school unit is one of the answers that is accepted by the majority as a way of release from the economic straight-jacket which our old system of small rural school districts produces.

STATE AIDS

The second method of equalizing formal education for rural boys and girls is through a system of state aids allocated to local schools according to need. The method is in use to some extent throughout all the United States. Its effectiveness in equalizing opportunity varies a great deal as a result of the peculiar types of equalization laws which

are finally passed by compromising legislatures. Research studies financed by the Midwest Administration Center at the University of Chicago, now in progress, have uncovered the unrealistic and often unworkable pieces of legislation that have been loosely considered a means of equalization. A certain amount of equalization was accomplished by most types of equalization laws, but all were so full of exceptions that their real purpose was never accomplished. Yet this method holds great promise and, as the old mistakes are removed from new equalization legislation, it is quite possible that much greater equalization of opportunities will result.

FEDERAL AID FOR GENERAL EDUCATION

A third commonly proposed means of solving the problem of equal chances for rural children is through federal aid. The controversy over the adoption of such aid for schools is not focused on disagreement over purposes but on the methods used to achieve the goals. Federal aid to states and then to local school units has been used in certain areas of special education. The growth of home economics, agriculture, and the trades courses would never have been so significant without the encouragement to begin such a program that was given by the availability of federal money. Federal aid to education in general is a means that could help equalize opportunities for rural children, but the controversy over method of distribution and control may mean that it will take a considerable time to accomplish.

In reality the farm population is low in financial ability and high in its responsibilities to the nation's children. Its educational responsibilities are greater in relation to its economic resources than any other group in the United States. Though there are many wealthy farm areas where this does not apply, still there are enough economically handicapped areas to make the problem of national concern. Often much of the wealth produced on our farms flows cityward in the form of migrating young men and women. Although proportionately smaller than before, the farm and rural village segments of our total society are the great reservoir of production and producers. The education rural children receive is of national importance and total concern.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A. 1. For your region of the United States, carefully study Table 3 and Table 8 to see if there are any relationships between school attendance and increasing value of farm real estate. What relationships might you expect?
2. From the reports of your state department of public instruction, select data to produce the following information:
- a. A distribution by counties of the true (equalized) evaluation per census-age child.
 - b. A distribution by counties of the state taxes paid per census-age child.
 - c. A distribution of the true (equalized) evaluation of the various counties.
- If this information is not in your state department of public instruction reports, locate it from other sources (state tax commissions, taxpayers associations, etc.).
3. What is the source of the tax dollar that supports education in your state?
4. From your state department of agriculture or agricultural economics department in your state college, obtain the farm income figures for your state.
- B. 1. What is the significance of each of the following as it pertains to education in rural areas?
- a. Differential birth rate.
 - b. Migration differentials.
 - c. Differences among incomes.
 - d. Movement of wealth from farm to city.
 - e. Relationship of farm income to farm population.
2. What does each of the above suggest in terms of proposals for equalizing educational opportunity?
3. What significant elements of farm income are included in a farmer's net income? What items may be overlooked?
4. How low might the farm population drop and still produce sufficiently for our society? What would be the effects of this decrease in population on rural education?
5. In what ways does less money per pupil in an educational program mean unequal opportunities? How can educational opportunities be measured?

CHAPTER 4

The Sociology of the Rural Community

AN OVERVIEW OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Any consideration of education in rural communities would be incomplete and narrow unless it were interpreted against the sociological background from which it stemmed. Rural people and urban people are not alike. They often speak differently, act differently, dress differently, and even think differently. This is a result of the different environmental influences thrust upon them by the physical, social, and economic characteristics of the communities in which they live.

The nature of the influences of the physical environment is not measurable in any objective fashion. However, on a subjective basis, most students of rural society recognize the effect on rural people of their direct exposure to nature in the raw. In attitudes toward rain or sun the rural citizen shows characteristics that differ from the urban resident whose protecting walls free him from direct or prolonged contact with the physical elements. The farmer is perennially looking to the sky and commenting on the weather. Talking about the weather isn't just making polite conversation; it is of real significance in the lives of farm people. The fertility of the soil means much to the farmer's livelihood; its texture, composition, and wetness all affect him directly. He associates with farm animals and knows them well. He understands how to deal with cows, pigs, sheep, and chickens. He talks to the chickens as he gathers eggs and calls his cows by name—Bessie, Anna Belle, Brindle, Queen, and Spray Teat. His dealings with natural

things causes him to be natural. Much of the artificiality and organization of urban society is not considered or understood by the rural farm resident. The standards of values of the farm, village, and urban resident are not alike, though each may be desirable in its own way.

The social relationships among individuals and groups is considerably different for rural farm, rural village, and urban citizens. The farmer has a considerably larger number of people whom he contacts on a very informal, face-to-face personal basis. The primary relationships in family living vary greatly between the compact, concentrated working family unit that makes up the farm family and the "dash here, dash there, work here, play there" sort of itinerary of the modern city family that has little solidarity of interest.

Loomis and Beegle point up the individual sentiment and closeness of the farm family by saying:

The values of social systems are reflected in the sentiments of individuals. Not only is the agricultural family most effective in developing the interaction equilibrium of the individual, but in forming the sentiments concerning what is right and wrong, what is to be hated, loved, what is to arouse disgust and veneration. Although all too little research energy has been devoted to the rural family, it is not difficult to demonstrate that the family as a social system is the source of basic sentiments and norms which influence our ideals. The language carries many symbols which come to us from interaction in the family, such as brotherly love, fatherly advice, motherly care and so forth. Talking to one "like a Dutch uncle" certainly does not derive from the modern, small, middle-class families in which uncles are thought of as rather distant relatives.¹

Although the farmer has more personal contacts than his city neighbor, he does have less variety in the areas of contact. The number of people he sees in a day is limited even if he makes a trip into the rural village. The urban worker may see and even contact hundreds of other people in a day, but he has neither the time nor the inclination to make these contacts personal.

When farm women bought their weekly groceries in the village, they assumed the face-to-face personal relationship described. The

¹ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, p. 50.

writer has seen this attitude meet with frustration in instance after instance when supermarkets entered the rural field or when farm women attempted to shop in the cold, efficient, and contractual selling tone of city supermarkets and department stores.

Another factor making for a difference between farmer and city dweller is the variety in the types of people contacted by the two groups. The farmer's contacts are much narrower in scope. He sees and works with others like himself. They talk like him, act like him, and for the most part think like him. His contacts may be described as homogeneous. In the course of a day he may see three other farmers, a creamery operator who deals primarily with farmers, and a livestock trucker who probably does part-time farming along with his trucking business. The city worker on the other hand may in the course of a day talk to one hundred people who represent all facets of society. His contacts may be described as heterogeneous.

An additional consideration in describing differences is the fact that the majority of farmers are independent producers subject to the whims of the market. For a farmer, job security is thought of a great deal differently than it is by a laborer in a city warehouse or clerk in a big department store. Although the farmer may not be concerned so much whether or not he will have a job at the year's end, he doesn't know what his labors will earn him by year's end.

Mobility within and among socio-economic classes is a great deal different between city and country. In the personal homogeneous grouping of rural society, people know too much about each other to facilitate easy movement to higher status among people of a particular rural community. In the contractual atmosphere of the city, the vertical mobility is largely dependent upon the job one holds. While the writer may be considered upper middle class in the city, as a result both of yearly salary and position on a university faculty, he is a farmer's son when he visits his old rural neighborhood. The ease with which one moves from one social status to another in the city is accelerated by the continuous ebb and flow of economic, political, and social activities. Sorokin and Zimmerman describe the rural community as similar to calm water in a pail and the urban community as similar to boiling water in a kettle. They claim that in the rural areas the people are more

strongly attached to their social status, while in urban society they are shifted from one status to another more easily.²

With all these existing differences, it would still be wrong to put all farmers in one group and all rural villagers in another, with a third separate group for the urbanite. Actually, they blend into each other and in many respects complement each other. Figure 8 represents one possibility regarding the overlapping characteristics of these three

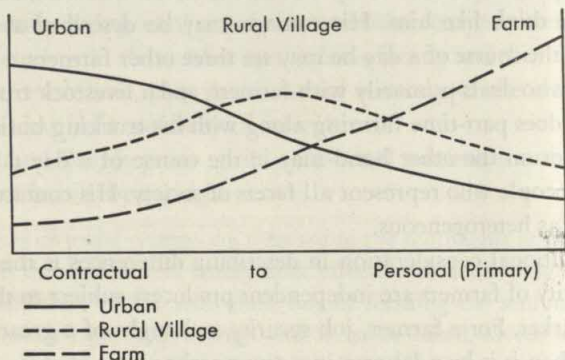


FIGURE 8. Contractual and Personal Relationships Common to Farm, Rural Village, and Urban Citizens.

groups. It deals with but one characteristic, on a scale beginning on the left with contractual relationships and ending on the right with primary personal relationships. All three groups have all varieties of relationships. We note, however, that the farmer has comparatively more personal relationships and fewer contractual ones. The urbanite is the reverse, and the rural village citizen is somewhere in between.

An awareness of the differences and also of the common grounds are a must for any educator working with the rural citizen.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

As sociologists have gathered more and more definite information about the locality groups making up our society, there has been less and less agreement on the definitions of particular types of localities

² P. H. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1929, p. 44.

within rural society. One definition of "community" will be someone else's definition of "neighborhood" while still another will define the same area as a service center or even as a locality grouping.

To supply a basic frame of reference in studying rural community backgrounds, the neighborhoods, villages, and cities will be described in terms of their definitive areas, service, and cultural relationships.

RURAL NEIGHBORHOOD

The neighborhood is that locality grouping in the community which, in terms of interpersonal relationships, is one step removed from the family. The relationships are often personal, and the people of a neighborhood know each other well. Though there may be several cliques in a neighborhood, the entire group is bound together either by cultural or service ties. Often the one-room school is the key service that holds fifteen to thirty families together. In other cases, it may be the church or even a rural crossroads store. Though predominantly an open-country phenomenon, the neighborhood may occasionally be identified as one small part of the village or may even be found in certain areas of the city.

RURAL VILLAGE

The village is that locality grouping in the community which supplies the basic services for both farm and village citizen. It is that concentration of people and service which make near self-sufficiency possible in the total rural community.

For purposes of description a distinction will be made between the village of a small population (generally 500 or less), which has few of the basic services and the larger village which supplies basic services for the surrounding farm area. The former will be called the *small village locality group* and the latter the *village*.

CITY

The city is that locality grouping outside of the rural community which supplies the rural community with certain economic and cultural ties of such nature that they cannot be supported by the rural com-

munity itself. The wholesale house, the manufacturing industries, the large flour mills, the radio and television stations, and the civic symphonies are examples of services which the rural community citizen uses but which are not a part of the rural community. The contacts between rural community and city are often impersonal and contractual in nature, as compared to the very personal relationships in the neighborhood, or the combination of personal and impersonal contacts in the rural village, or between village and neighborhood. Figure 9 gives an example of these contacts as they often exist among the various groups and individual families in the rural community. The arrows indicate contacts among people from the various locality groupings.

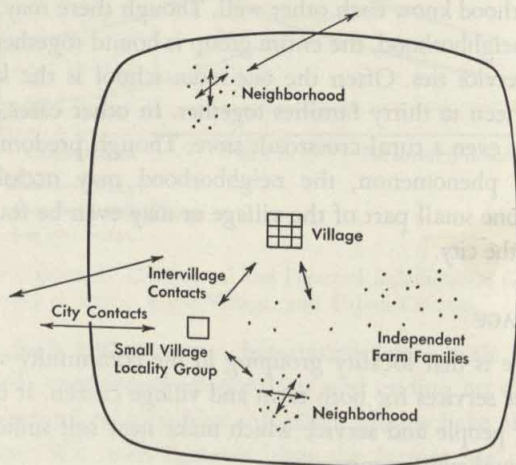


FIGURE 9. Conceptual Map Showing Positions of the Basic Elements in a Rural Community.

COMMUNITY FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The delimitable neighborhoods in rural communities vary greatly in area, number of families involved, services available, types of relationships, and strength of neighborhood ties. A system of classifying locality groups by means of a service rating group identification analysis was used by Alexander and Nelson as a means of describing what

they called service areas, communities, and neighborhoods.³ The neighborhoods met the general description of having a high group identification and a low service rating. However, they did classify as communities those with population from 7 to 280. It is evident that some of these would meet the definition of neighborhood used here while the remainder would be classified as small village locality groups.

The group identification analysis used by Alexander and Nelson was further objectified and made amenable to interview and questionnaire by Kreitlow and Koyen in a number of Wisconsin studies. Not only did this method show the different group identification strengths of neighborhood grouping within a community, but it allowed for comparisons among the identification characteristics of different communities. Tables 14 and 15 show these intercommunity and intracommunity differences as identified by a sample of parents of children in the first grade in two Wisconsin communities. The scores of each neighborhood are based on the recognition of the following group identification characteristics:

1. Helping each other in neighborhood emergencies.
2. Exchange visits.
3. Exchange of tools and machinery.
4. Exchange work.
5. Borrowing and lending money, food, etc., within the neighborhood.
6. Having picnics within the neighborhood.
7. Hunting and fishing with neighbors.
8. Participation in card games, baseball, horseshoe on a neighborhood basis.
9. Telling neighbors hopes and plans.
10. Repeating jokes and stories about persons or groups of persons in the neighborhood.
11. Recalling and discussing childhood and early experiences in the neighborhood.

Tables 14 and 15 are based upon the identification of the above characteristics and are listed by number.

Certain of the many services required by modern society are more

³ Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization Goodhue County*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota Bulletin 401, February, 1949, p. 25.

likely to be available in the rural neighborhood than others. The neighborhood one-room school was historically a very strong and key service of the rural neighborhood. In certain areas of the United States, where loyalties to a frontier society were maintained, the one-room school is a significant neighborhood service. Where it exists as the only service of a neighborhood, it is likely to be associated with relatively low iden-

TABLE 14. Number of Group Identification Activities of Families in the Neighborhoods of Winneconne Community

Neighborhoods	Number of Groups Identified											Number Reporting	Mean No. of Activities
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Allenville	2	1	1						2		1	7	4.14
Ball Prairie	1								2	1	1	5	8.8
Butte Des Morts			2						2			4	5.0
Grandview	2			1								3	1.0
Lakeshore Road										1		1	9.0
Larsen	1				1	1		1				4	4.0
Mathison	1		1				1		1			4	4.0
Mikesville			1		1				1	1		4	5.75
Pingry									1			1	8.0
Poygan					1							1	4.0
Royer		1		1	1			1			1	5	5.0
Skelton Bridge		1		1								2	2.0
Winchester			2	1		1			1	1		7	5.28
Winneconne			2	3	2	6	5	2	3	2	1	27	5.85
Zittau						2						2	5.0
Total												77	5.12

tification on the part of its constituents. However, it is in conjunction with certain other combinations of service that neighborhood identification may be extremely high. The rural church, assuming that church is a social service to a neighborhood, was available in many rural neighborhoods of the past. Its significance on a neighborhood basis was challenged with the advent of modern transportation. However, where the rural parish has been maintained within a relatively stable area over several generations, it is associated with strong feelings of neighborhood identity. The old country store was organized to serve a small group of people in its vicinity. Its origin was tied directly to a

neighborhood settlement pattern and in many communities the vestiges of the country store still exist. In others the "old stores" are a memory. Where they have been maintained in conjunction with a one-room

TABLE 15. Number of Group Identification Activities of Families in the Neighborhoods of Denmark Community

Neighborhoods	Number of Groups Identified											Number Reporting	Mean No. of Activities	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			11
Bellevue			2	1		1							4	3.0
Bolt	1	1			1	1		1			1		6	4.5
Black Creek							1				1		2	8.0
Buckman's Corner								1					1	7.0
Bungalow								1	1				2	7.5
Curran				1	2		1		1				5	5.0
Denmark	2	1	2	3	3	1	1		1				14	3.2
Elm View						2			2				4	6.5
Fairview (6)											1		1	10.0
Fontenoy			1			2		1	1	2			7	6.4
Greenstreet						1		1	1	2			5	7.6
Hebels Corners			1	1	2			1					5	4.0
Henrysville								1		1	1		3	8.7
Hickory Grove							1		1			3	5	9.4
Langes Corners	1										2	2	5	8.4
Maple View	2				2			2					6	3.7
Maribel					1		1	1	1	2		2	8	8.1
Pine Grove										3	1		4	9.2
Pelishak's Corner		1											1	1.0
Poland			2		1	1	4	2	1		1		12	5.7
River View							1						1	6.0
Rosecrans	1			1			2	1					5	4.4
Shirley										2			2	9.0
Stark										1			1	9.0
Twin River										1			1	9.0
West Eaton						2	1						3	5.3
Whittier							2	1					3	6.3
Wilson						2							2	5.0
Total													118	6.46

school or a rural parish, they continue to be of significance to the neighborhood. Of more recent vintage is the gasoline station situated at some rural crossroads. It is often associated with a tavern or an old store that needed a modern service to maintain its solvency. Where gasoline sta-

tions have been built in connection with other services, they add strength to neighborhood bonds. However, where they are a new and independent service at some community crossroads, they are not generally considered as the neighborhood center or even as part of it. Fig-

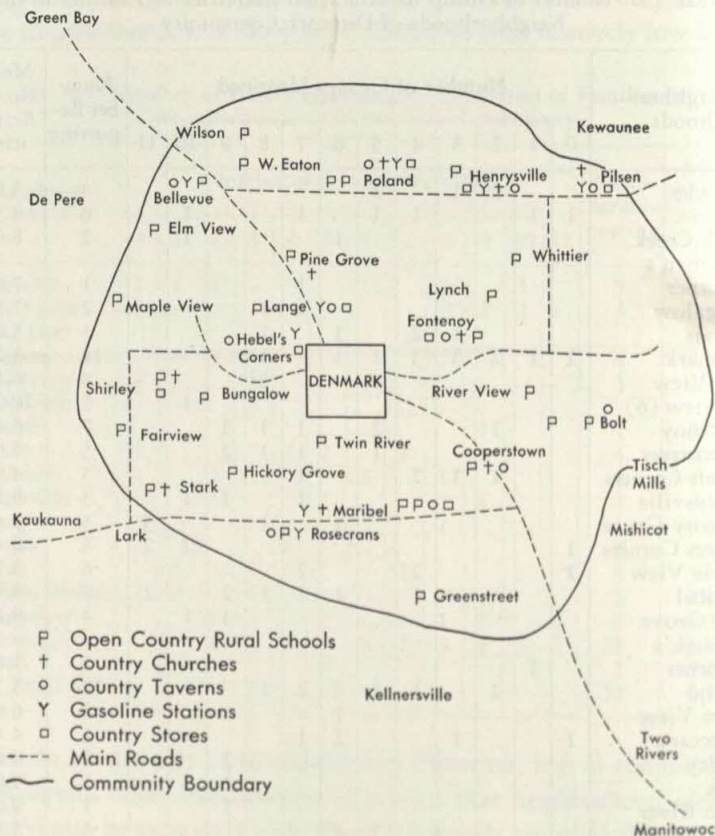


FIGURE 10. Services Available in the Farm Service Area of the Denmark Community in East Central Wisconsin.

ure 10 shows the Denmark Community in East Central Wisconsin, and is typical of the services existing in connection with the neighborhoods in an area of slow cultural assimilation. In this case it is noted that in 1950, 26 open country schools were in operation; there were 9 open country churches, 8 filling stations, 11 neighborhoods where at least

one tavern and one country store were operating. The identification with neighborhood centers in a community like Denmark is understandably high. Figure 11 shows the quite comparable Winneconne community in the same section of the state. It indicates that there are

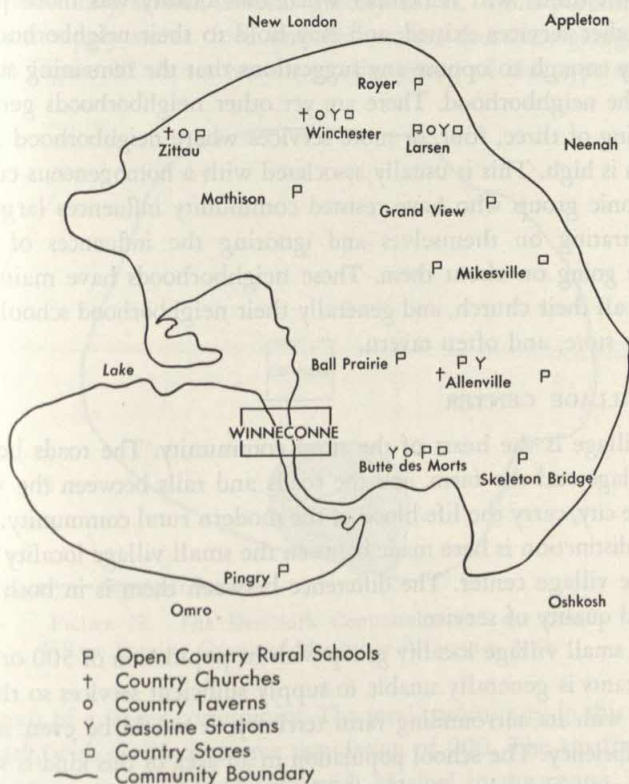


FIGURE 11. Services Available in the Farm Service Area of the Winneconne Community in East Central Wisconsin.

fewer neighborhood services, and the identification with the neighborhood is understandably weaker.

Neighborhoods generally are named localities covering a delimitable area. At the present time they may be little more than names passed down from early settlers who established certain basic neighborhood services which have since disappeared. All that is left in cer-

tain neighborhoods is the old name and a small core of old-timers who maintain an identification which progress has bypassed. In other cases, the disorganization of the neighborhood is not as complete, and a one-room school or a church or a country store may still exist. The neighborhood citizens will remember when the locality was more potent, when other services existed, and may hold to their neighborhood ties strongly enough to oppose any suggestions that the remaining services leave the neighborhood. There are yet other neighborhoods generally consisting of three, four, or more services where neighborhood identification is high. This is usually associated with a homogeneous cultural and ethnic group who have resisted community influences largely by concentrating on themselves and ignoring the influences of social change going on about them. These neighborhoods have maintained first of all their church, and generally their neighborhood school, club, grocery store, and often tavern.

THE VILLAGE CENTER

A village is the heart of the rural community. The roads between the village and the farm, and the roads and rails between the village and the city, carry the life blood of the modern rural community. Additional distinction is here made between the small village locality group and the village center. The difference between them is in both quantity and quality of service.

The small village locality group with its population of 500 or fewer inhabitants is generally unable to supply sufficient services so that, together with its surrounding farm territory, it would be even near to self-sufficiency. The school population in an area of this kind is seldom if ever great enough to justify a high-school attendance area. The local citizen attachment to such an area is usually high. Because of this, public services once established are not easily moved. A small high school, though either inefficient or expensive or both, is not easily given up by people who are as close to it physically and emotionally as are people in a small village. Though there is often a relatively stable or declining population, the small village citizens will invariably insist that the next year will be better, and use that judgment as a lever in maintaining poor service. There is some evidence to indicate that there

is a real socio-economic need for these groups in modern rural society, and thus it should not be assumed that they are on the way out, even if their less efficient services are removed.⁴

The small village locality group does provide a sufficient base for a good elementary school, several grocery stores, multi-purpose hardware and supply stores, feed and fuel stores, churches, garages, and taverns. Figure 12 shows how a locality group of this type serves a

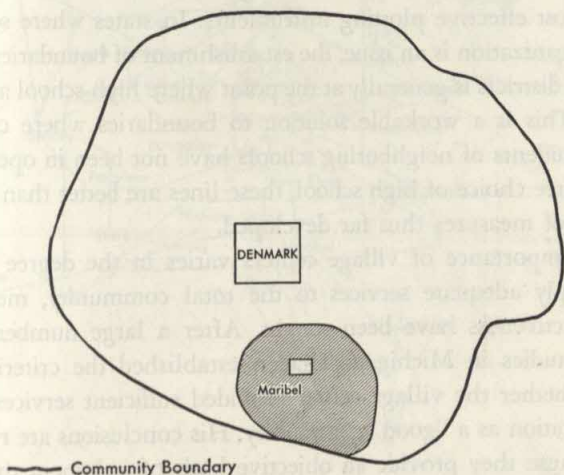


FIGURE 12. The Denmark Community and the Small Village Locality Group of Maribel in Its Service Area.

small part of a larger community. The total community in this case is Denmark, with a village center population of 900. The small village locality group is the shaded area, with Maribel in the center. In this particular case Maribel supports the following services: bank, barber, cheese factory, churches, doctor, elementary schools, garages, gas stations, grocery stores, hardware stores, library, farm machinery sales, newspaper, restaurants, and taverns. The population of Maribel is 225.

The village center of between 500 and 2500 population is in a much better position to develop services of sufficient quantity and quality

⁴ Douglas G. Marshall, "Hamlets and Villages in the United States," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1946, pp. 159-165.

to make the area nearly self-sufficing. The village centers of between 500 and 1000 in population are often lacking in one or more basic services, but in these cases it is available in some other nearby community center. In sparsely settled areas, a village of this size seems to be quite able to meet the demands of its farm service area. The high school is so commonly associated with the village center that it becomes one of the center's basic services to the outlying areas. In attempts to delineate community boundaries, the high-school attendance area is one of the most effective plotting instruments. In states where school district reorganization is an issue, the establishment of boundaries between proposed districts is generally at the point where high-school attendance divides. This is a workable solution to boundaries where campaigns for the students of neighboring schools have not been in operation. In cases of free choice of high school, these lines are better than any combination of measures thus far developed.

Since importance of village centers varies in the degree to which they supply adequate services to the total community, measures of their effectiveness have been sought. After a large number of community studies in Michigan, Thaden established the criteria for deciding whether the village center provided sufficient services to merit a classification as a "good" community. His conclusions are referred to here because they provide an objective basis of judgment that can be used by anyone in classifying communities by the services in the village center. Thaden says that a community is a good community if it has at least five of these six services—a medical doctor, a dentist, a weekly newspaper, a bank, a theater, and an accredited high school.

During the past five years the significance of the theater in this grouping might be more questionable on the grounds that the influence of television makes the rural community too small for an economical theater operation. These village centers have other services, such as churches, grocery stores, feed mills, etc., but the significant ones in his studies proved to be those used in the criteria. It was further indicated that it is not essential to have some of the less common and more specialized services, such as hospital, tailor, furniture store, millinery store, jewelry store, lawyer, etc. The places of 1000 population or slightly

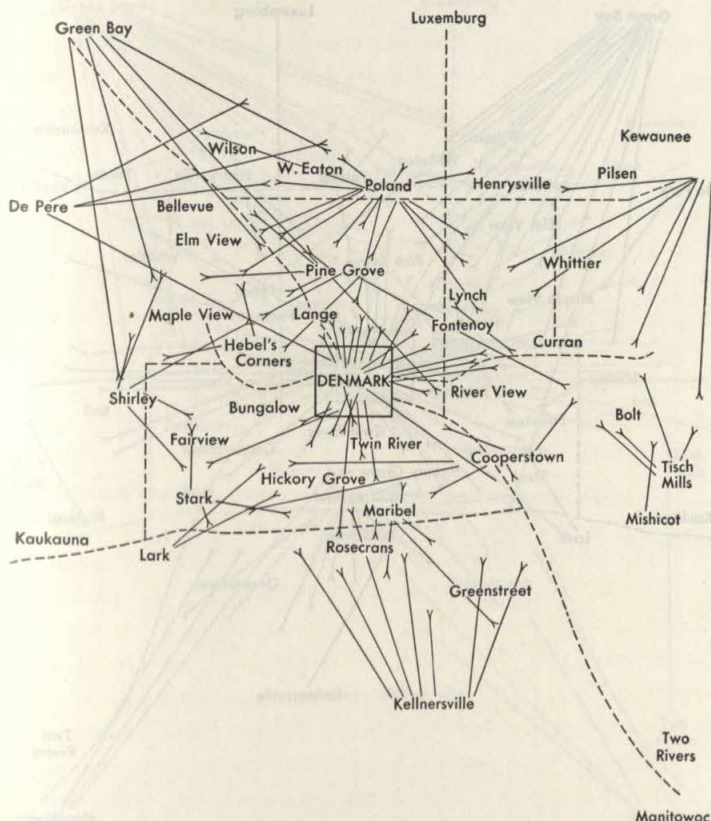


FIGURE 13. The Churchgoing Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

larger are practically self-sufficient except for certain expert services and luxuries. Further evidence in Michigan shows that the number of businesses in villages tends to increase with village size.

Of 113 places in Michigan with 500 to 1,000 inhabitants, two-thirds do not have a dentist, one-half do not have a movie, one-half do not have a weekly newspaper, one-third do not have a bank, one-fourth do not have a medical doctor, and one-fifth do not have a state accredited public high school. In successively larger villages a larger percentage have each of these

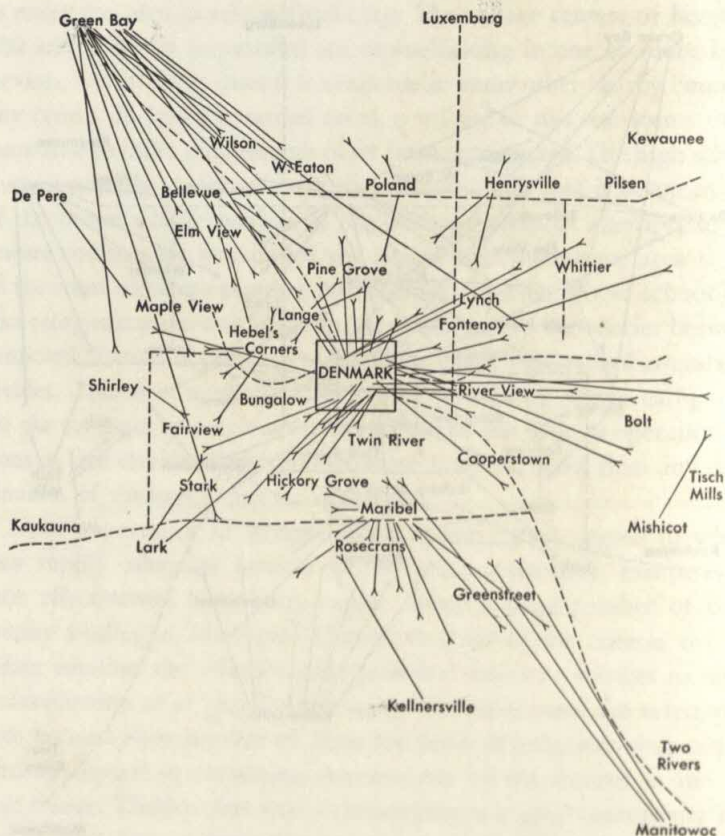


FIGURE 14. The Grocery Buying Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

services. Of 46 places in Michigan with 1,000 to 1,500 inhabitants, approximately 9 in 10 have each of these services. Of 34 places with 1,500 to 2,000 inhabitants, 95 per cent have each of these services, and they are universal in places with 2,000 or more inhabitants.⁵

It is important in terms of community services that quality of service be considered along with the mere existence of service. Just because a village of 600 population has a high school, it is no indication that it

⁵ John F. Thaden, "What Is a Good Community," *Youth Leaders' Digest*, March, 1950, pp. 227-234.

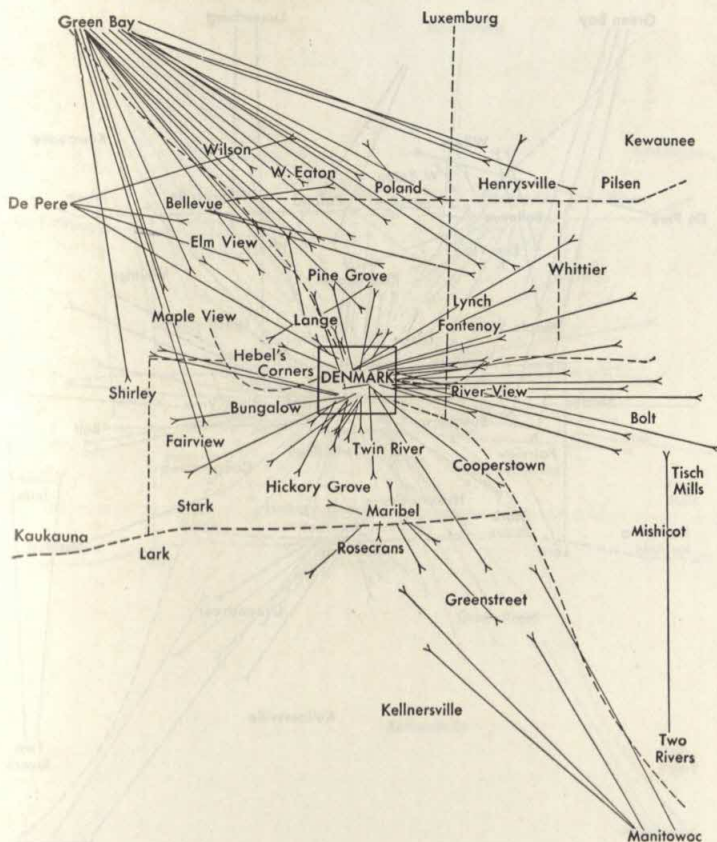


FIGURE 15. The Gasoline Buying Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

is providing adequate service. Studies of school adequacy are quite consistent in showing that small high schools, which are generally located in the smaller villages, are far from desirable in terms of the most objective criteria of measurement thus far developed. It is because of this inadequacy that pressure for school change is the most consistent in villages and the surrounding farm area with low population. This problem will be discussed thoroughly in chapter 9.

The following series of figures show the varying service relationships between community families and the neighborhood, the small

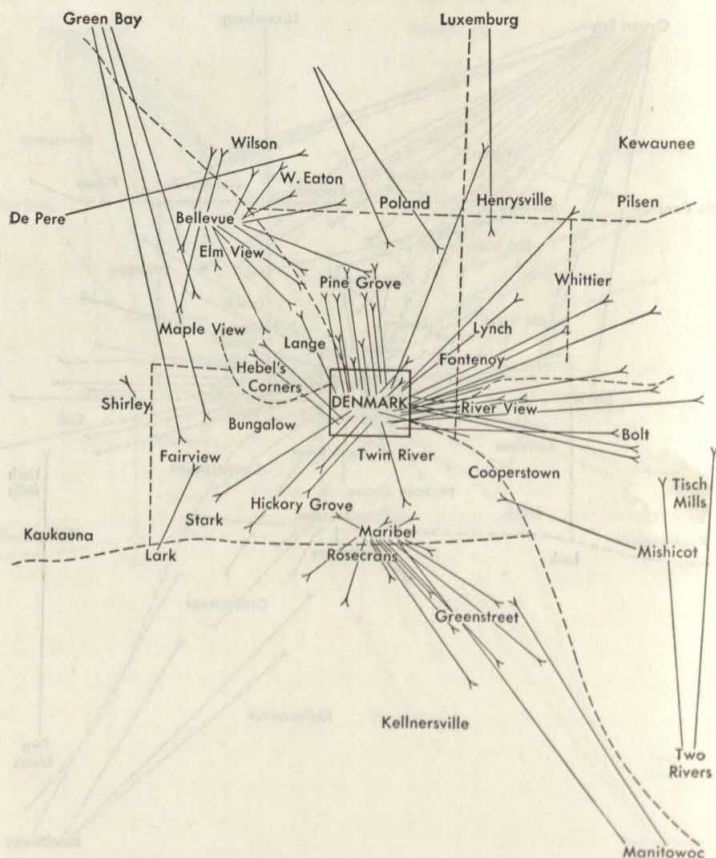


FIGURE 16. The Feed Buying Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

village, the locality group, the village center and the city or tertiary community. In Figures 13 through 20, the location of the sample families in the Denmark, Wisconsin, community is indicated by the base of the line which moves toward the particular service considered. All the families are located within the territory served by the high school which is located in the village center. The families represented on the outer rim of the community, however, are on the fringe area and, as is common in a high-school tuition-paying farm area, they occasionally change high-school service centers. The lines directed to the various

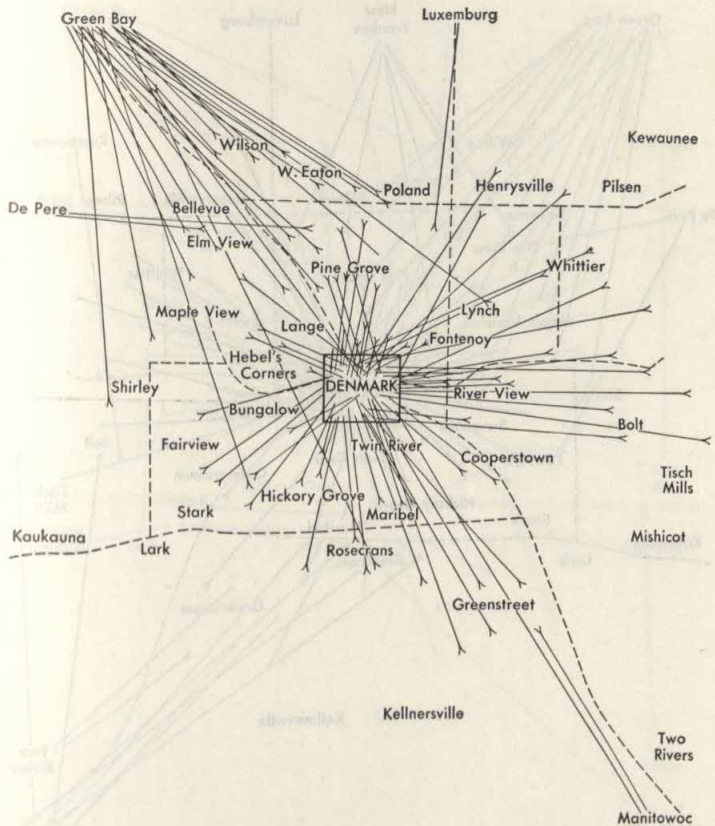


FIGURE 17. The Moviegoing Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

centers for particular services are represented only where that particular farm or village family goes for the most of the particular service indicated. It has been established that both farm and village families use services of more distant village centers to a considerable extent. This is especially true where tertiary or city communities are within easy driving distance. Maintaining neighborhoods, small village locality groups, and a farm service area as part of its structure, the village center is the real hub of the rural community, even though flanked by cities.

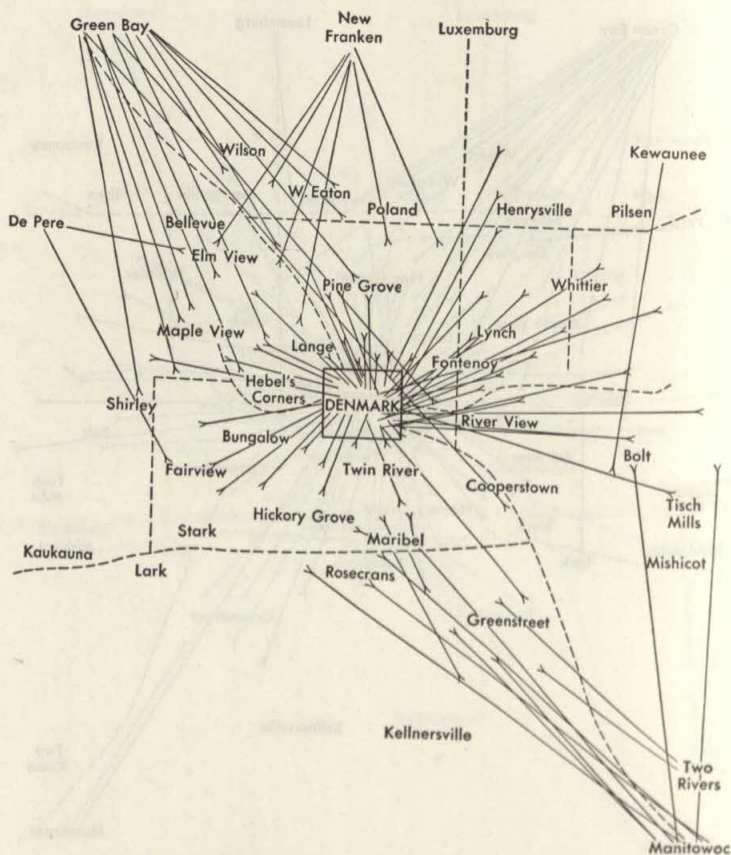


FIGURE 18. The Doctor Service Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

THE CITY

The city is becoming of much greater importance than formerly to the rural person. Fifty years ago, the only contact with urban society and urban values was a rare city trip by train. It was a special occasion, and often talked about for years afterward. Today it is the exceptional rural person who does not get to a city during a year. The city has become the center for specific services that are made possible by means of modern transportation and communication. Retail establishments that require large investment in building and stock must be located

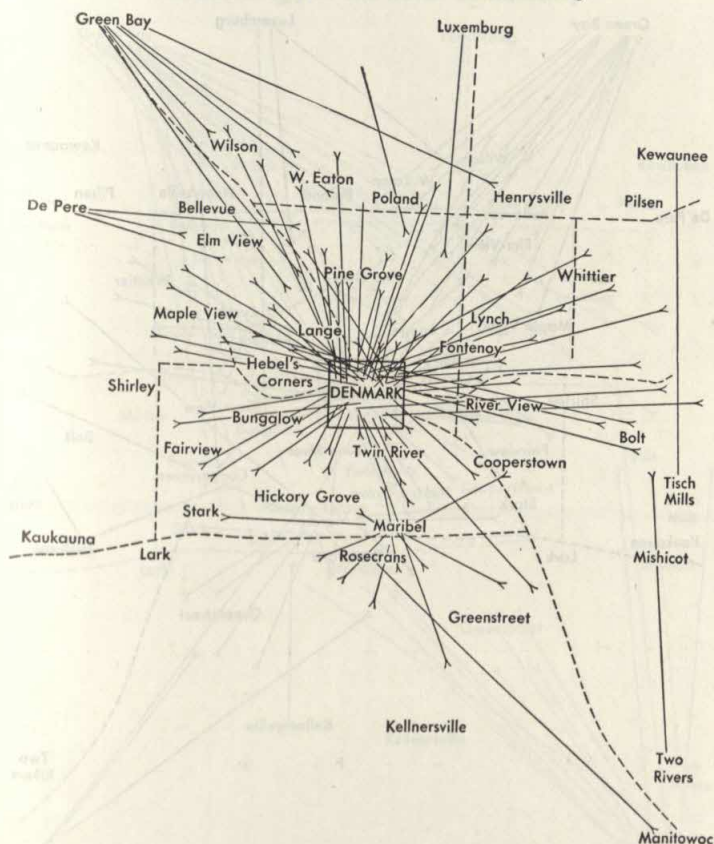


FIGURE 19. The Banking Service Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

where sufficient market is available. This location is logically the city. The furniture stores, the clothing stores, the used car markets, the stock-yards, and the large hospitals with complete modern equipment and specialist staff are all in the cities where the buyers are concentrated. The village resident and the farmer are now able to reach this market in a short time and are becoming more and more accustomed to city trips. The past fifty years have seen a great increase in city retail sales direct to farm and rural village customers. The city has become a definite consideration in the rural world.

Rural Education: Community Backgrounds

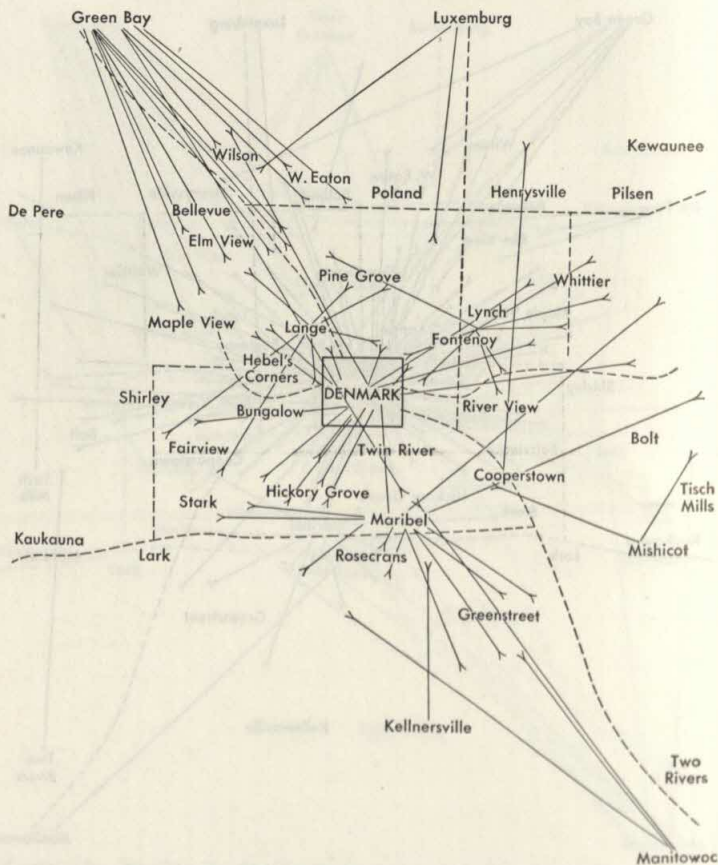


FIGURE 20. The Machinery Buying Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

The city is the center of nearly all mass media and as such wields a tremendous influence on the rural communities in its service area. The daily newspapers, radio stations, and television stations are almost always city-centered, and cover rural territory in ever-widening waves.

The role of the city in the lives of rural citizens has changed from the place for an occasional excursion to a significant service center. The farmer has progressed from catalogue contacts to yearly trips, and then to casual acceptance of the city as a place where he goes to buy and sell

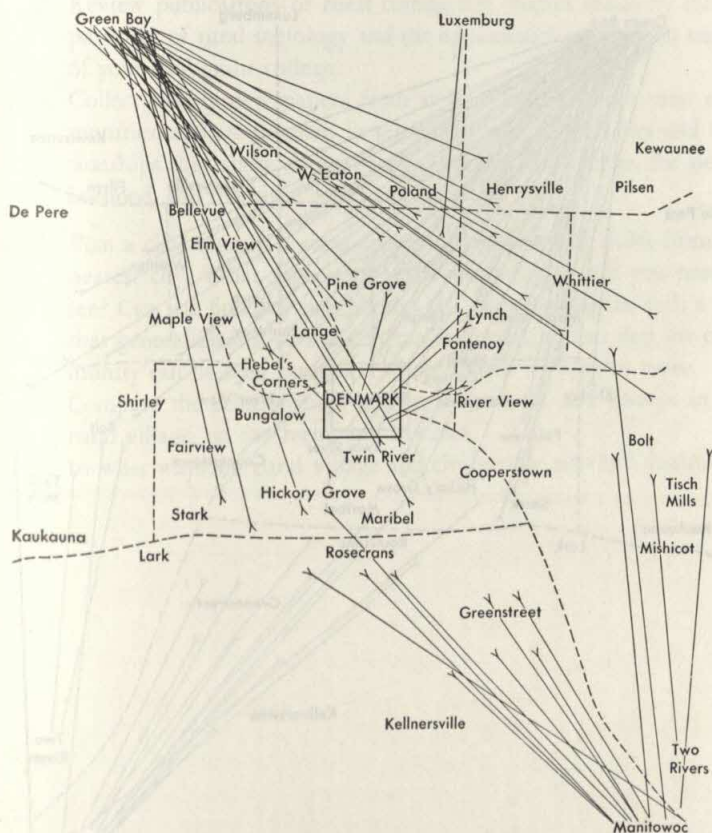


FIGURE 21. The Furniture Buying Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

more and more products. Figures 21 and 22 show how great the influence of Green Bay, twenty miles away, is on a rural community. Green Bay is a city of 52,000 inhabitants. The furniture and clothing buying habits of the families indicated are so city-oriented that it is hard to imagine that not many years ago both clothing and furniture stores were prevalent in rural communities. Today the clothing and furniture available in rural community stores is limited in quantity and variety. The service pattern changes in these and other items emphasize the importance that cities play in the lives of the rural citizen. One

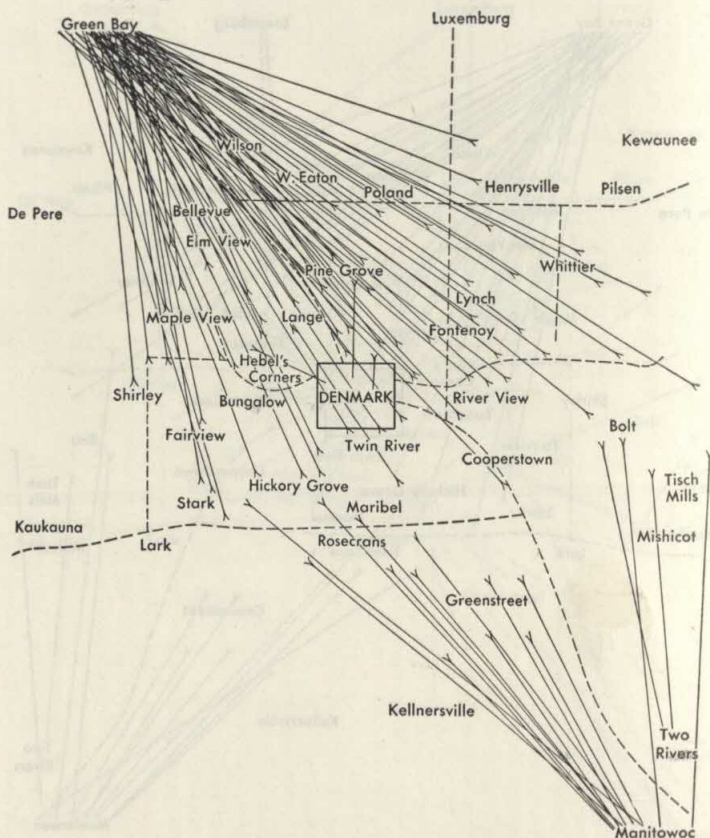


FIGURE 22. The Clothes Buying Pattern of a Sample Group of Denmark Community Adults.

might venture a guess at this point that the city will become increasingly more influential for rural citizens. This change must be considered in the present and future shaping of educational programs.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A. 1. In what ways can rural communities be described? Consider approaches made in the text and by rural sociologists such as T. Lynn Smith, Dwight Sanderson, Lowry Nelson, Kolb and Brunner, and Loomis and Beegle.

2. Review publications of rural community studies made by the department of rural sociology and the agricultural experiment station of your land-grant college.
 3. Collect weekly newspapers from at least five different rural communities, and study them in terms of the characteristics and relationships they show about people living in the village, the neighborhood, and the city.
- B.
1. Plan a class tour to a rural community at least 25 miles from the nearest city. What aspects of this community would you need to see? Can you find any neighborhoods? Plan the tour in such a way that generalizations of the text can be tested, and so that the community can be seen both as a whole and in its various parts.
 2. Compare the relationships among individuals and groups in the rural village, on the farm, and in cities.
 3. In what ways are rural village and city people similar? dissimilar?

CHAPTER 5

The Changing Rural Community

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE EARLY COMMUNITY

LAND SETTLEMENT AND THE COMMUNITY

Settlement of the land in America was typically a "grab-bag" venture, with little thought to social implications. The adoption of the checkerboard system of land survey in 1785 established a pattern of land holdings that separated farmers from their neighbors about as completely as if planned isolation were the objective. The river front and line village patterns of settlement in parts of New England and the Deep South are exceptions to the general location of farm families on rectangular pieces of ground, formed by surveys based on astronomical observations. With but few exceptions, twenty-five states, sweeping through the central and southern United States, have but one system of land holding, the rectangular. All but a few of the remaining states have a significant portion of their rural population indiscriminately scattered over the countryside. The rural neighborhood, the rural community, and the city service center developed from this beginning. Figure 23 shows the typical Midwestern land pattern as seen by air. Here the distance between farmsteads is readily observed.

Without a tradition and without pattern, the structure of the isolated rural neighborhood and community was developed in a primitive fashion and only in relation to particular needs. When a certain organization was formed, when associations were developed, when groups of

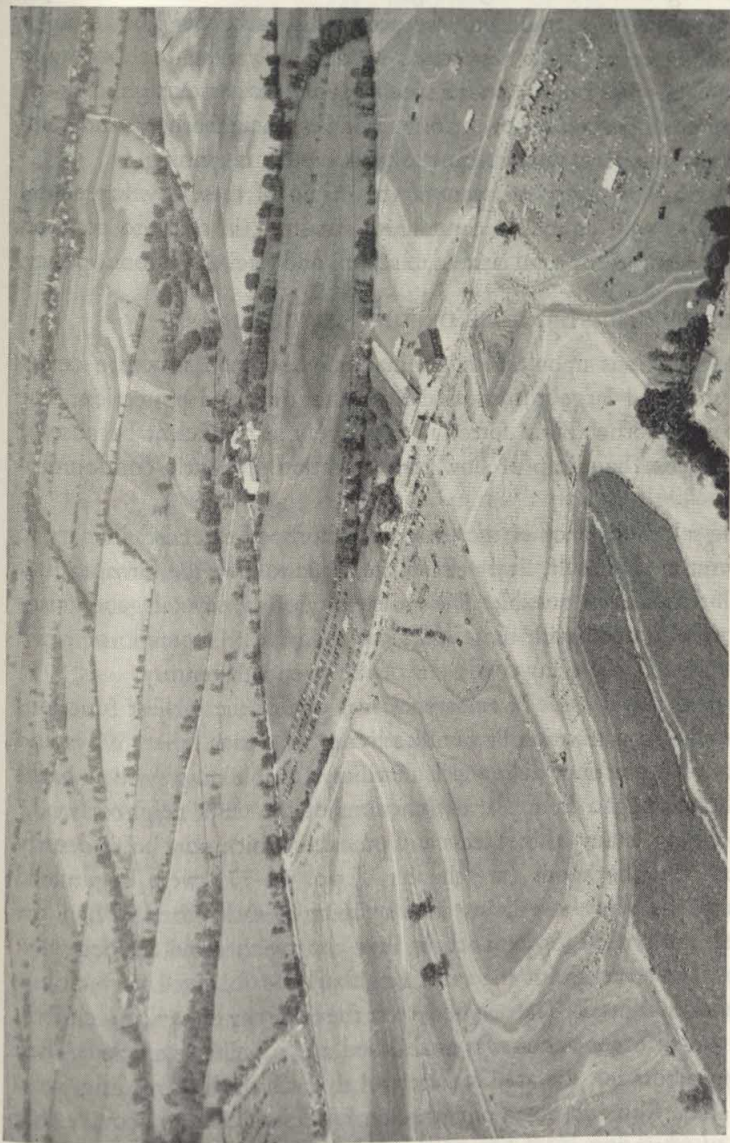


FIGURE 23. Air Photo Showing the Scattered Farmsteads of a Typical U. S. Farming Community. (Photo, Courtesy of the U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service.)

people began to see each other regularly, the action was based on specific functions that could only be accomplished by neighborhood or community contacts. The structure of our early neighborhoods and communities was built upon the specific functions these neighborhoods and communities needed to perform. The farm neighborhood and community is what it is today because of this type of beginning.

The educator must be aware of the origin of these developmental patterns as well as today's community structure, in order to comprehend the attitude of rural citizens to school and total educational policy.

FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The functions upon which original neighborhood structure developed stemmed largely from need for mutual aid and protection. The rural neighborhood was forced to be largely self-sufficient because of the immense handicap of slow transportation and little communication.

The self sufficiency of the early neighborhood extended in part to the farm family itself. Every effort was made to have the farming unit as self-sufficient as possible. The philosophy of the several generations that were molded with those ideas has held back automatic or rapid adjustment to changing conditions of the twentieth century.

Mutual aid in cases of emergency was one of the earliest functions demanding organization by families living near each other. Ways and means of protection, aiding sick families, and building needed barns and homes began to appear as functions of the new "neighborhood." Before long, many of the items and practices which now help identify present neighborhoods (see chapter 4, pp. 74-77) were begun and accomplished by those living in proximity to each other. When the settlers felt a need for joint action, they got together and decided what to do. The structure of the rural neighborhood followed very closely its functional needs. The neighbors felt the necessity of having a church, so a church organization was established and a building erected. Then the neighbors felt the need for a school to teach the boys reading, writing, and arithmetic, so an organization was established to provide that kind of education.

The organization and structure provided were specifically in line

with the needs of the time. In certain neighborhoods, there was a real need for a place to buy merchandise near at hand, so someone was encouraged to establish a general country store, or some enterprising businessman established his store as the area was being settled. The general store satisfied the major share of the farmers' "store-bought" needs. The function of government was generally met on the basis of town (township) organization and county organization. The town hall was often built by volunteer labor. It was the citizens' building and met its neighborhood function. These organizations, businesses, buildings, and institutions became the established structure of the rural neighborhood. They did their work well and, if there had been no changes in the nature of farming, communication, transportation, or industrialization, they might well be adequate today.

FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE RURAL VILLAGES

The village community center grew in much the same fashion as the neighborhood. Where needs developed for institutions or organizations beyond the immediate neighborhood, a community village center was established. This was usually in a location suitable to a number of neighborhoods. The railroads helped more than anything else to locate the "spot" where a village center would grow. The general store out at the crossroads needed a nearby supplier. The village merchant or wholesaler was an answer. He needed someone to haul supplies to his store. The drayman who lived at this central village location could do it well. A grist mill was a big investment for a little neighborhood but, located in a village center, it could meet the demands of a community area.

Thus the village developed in direct response to real functions it was to perform. It needed buildings, it needed workers, it needed homes, it needed retailers and wholesalers. It needed variety in merchandise that the neighborhood stores could not afford to stock. Just like the neighborhood, the village center grew in direct response to existing needs of the time. The village center was needed first as a farm service center for the organizational and institutional structure which was being formed. The interdependency of village and farm was basically clear in their early structure.

FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE CITY

The cities were further removed from direct response to farm needs. The Eastern cities were already established when the movement to the West began in earnest. The great dependency of the rural village on the established and newly developing cities was great and was so recognized by the village citizen. The farmers' relationships to the city were of a secondary nature and often not recognized as being of any significance. The self-sufficiency of the rural neighborhood and farm society bred an idea of independence that failed to recognize the role of the city in the total rural picture.

The city did meet a number of rural functional needs and developed in response to them. The excess production of the farms began to flow cityward. New settlers looked to the availability of rail or water transportation before moving into virgin territory. Particularly the financial and business aspects of village and farm demanded some city contacts. Yet in the early and middle nineteenth century and before, when rural communities were forming their original structure, the tie to the city was limited. Some manufacturing, a little processing, the initial wholesalers, and institutions of higher education to train the ministers completed the bulk of service flowing ruralward. The city dependence upon farms, because of food requirements, was not nearly as vital as it would be a hundred years later. Even city folks raised much of their own food in the year 1850.

CHANGES IN COMMUNITY FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE

THE SOCIAL PROCESS

Today individual farm, neighborhood, village, and city have changed. The change is so great and has come so fast that the social process has been difficult to describe. The change in rural living as a result of modern inventive genius is rapid, but very logically and naturally is behind the point where it might be were all our knowledge used. Often rural leaders fail to understand why social change doesn't keep pace. Chapin divides the social process of adaptation to change into three categories.¹ The first phase is one of stability where society clings

¹ F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935, pp. 295 ff.

TABLE 16. The Cycle of the Social Process^a

Cultural Change: The Cycle of the Social Process	Type of Pattern in Ascendency in the Phase	Type of Leader- ship in the Phase	Active Proce- dure of Leaders	Popular Psy- chology Charac- terizing the Phase of the Social Process
PHASE III INTEGRATION Consolidation of successful experiments	Manifest cul- ture patterns crystallize	Administrators who consoli- date	Systematize and deputize	People are tired of endless ex- periment and consequent confusion and desire to re- turn to settled relations
PHASE II EXPERIMEN- TATION By trial-and- error efforts	Manifest cul- ture patterns in process of formulation	Innovators, ex- perimental executives, organizing promoters, natural leaders	Leaders organ- ize by doing too much themselves	People are anx- ious and feel insecure; ready to seize upon any symbol or plan of a way out of their crisis difficul- ties
PHASE I STABILITY Due to inertia and resistance to change	Latent patterns fermenting (adjustment efforts go un- derground)	Titular leaders of a bureauc- racy bound by red tape and precedent	Routine execu- tives with cut-and-dried division of labor	People are com- placent and do not wish to be disturbed
PHASE III INTEGRATION Consolidation of successful experiments	Manifest cul- ture patterns crystallize	Administrators who consoli- date	Systematize and deputize	People are tired of endless ex- periment and consequent confusion and desire to re- turn to settled relations
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SOURCE: Reprinted from *Contemporary American Institutions* by F. Stuart Chapin, by permission of Harper & Brothers. Copyright, 1935, by Harper & Brothers.

^a The table should be read up from bottom to top to illustrate the sequence of Phases I, II, and III of the social process and their repetitive character.

to its traditions and customs in the face of social changes suggested by technological advance. The second phase is one of experimentation with new social forms and structures. At some time in the process, so much is tried and such confusion arises that a third and final phase appears. This third phase is one of integration where gains are consolidated, successful experiments are copied, and the social structure is reformed along more stable lines. Table 16 shows schematically how this cultural change occurs and its relationship to patterns of ascendancy, type and procedure of leadership, and the popular psychology characterizing particular phases of the social process.

NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

Understanding the social process helps greatly to explain the gap between present-day knowledge and present-day structure of rural society. Today's rural neighborhood is in many respects the result of slow, often noncoordinated adjustment to new knowledge and scientific discovery. The neighborhood functions are not what they once were. Where once the neighborhood school needed and was expected to supply the complete educational program for the children, now high-school graduation is demanded and expected. Reaching the sixth grade as an educational goal has been rapidly bypassed.

Such functions as mutual aid on home or barn building, exchange of labor, provision of a place of religious worship, provision of the total school program, provision of the setting for social contacts as evidenced in "neighboring," and many other functions have either disappeared or have been greatly reduced. In the neighborhood the loss of function has often had little effect on the pattern of action and structure that was established to meet the frontier function. The one-room school remains and is often fought for vigorously by a neighborhood. This is done even after education and the social expectation of high-school graduation, compulsory attendance laws, and the new curriculum demands require a much broader structure than a neighborhood could ever supply.

The initial demands of a neighborhood for vital farm and home supplies at the crossroad store developed economic units that were forced to change as methods of farming and living changed. This

change in structure to accomodate new functions is evidenced in both the disappearance of many crossroad stores or the addition of new services and the elimination of the old. The cracker box, potbellied stove, and generous supplies of general merchandise have given way to a store which is a combination tavern, gasoline station, and general store with a limited supply of emergency groceries.

These neighborhood adjustments to changing function have called for adjustments on the part of the individual citizen. The neighborhood church could no longer afford a full-time pastor so a "two-churcher" was employed with meetings in the neighborhood every other Sunday. Soon this changed to services once a month, and in many cases the complete elimination of services and an almost dormant structure resulted. It did make a difference to the inhabitant of a neighborhood. He could go to another neighborhood to church, go to some village nearby, or likely stay at home on Sunday morning. The religious function of the rural neighborhood changed to a community function or an inter-neighborhood function. Yet it was not always recognized as change, and when it was not, no new community or interneighborhood structure resulted. As is often the case, the old structure remained and did not meet developing needs, while the new functions were developing with no structure to meet them. This has been particularly true of social functions—the school, the church, the informal neighborhood groups, and the farm and home organizations. The economic functions, which involve a profit and loss, adjust at a more rapid rate. For example, the neighborhood creamery that doesn't produce efficiently or in a sanitary manner is closed, and the territory is at once taken over by a creamery that is both efficient and sanitary. The crossroads store can no longer sell sufficient clothing, since automobiles carry the former patrons to the village or city where more choice is possible. The clothing line is then closed out and something that will sell to local citizens may be added—perhaps gasoline or farm seed.

COMMUNITY CHANGE

The community has also gone through changes in function and of structure. The new opportunities given to the rural community with the coming of the automobile made a great difference in the number of

contacts, both economic and social, that were possible between village and farm. It is well to keep in mind that modern trends at any given point in time have affected both the farm and nonfarm elements in a rural community.

Today certain explicit functions appear to rest at community level. Four of these functions, related to rural education, are listed: coördination of informal educational activities; overall planning and administration of the school program from kindergarten through high school; planning and executing adult education action programs; and developing programs for the constructive use of leisure time.

These functions were not recognized at the community level fifty years ago. The era of organization and superorganization has developed rapidly with improved transportation and communication. How can all these informal agencies, each having its own educational objectives of various form and degree, be made to work for the common community good? This coördination is not universally recognized as a community job, but where it is, community coördinating councils, educational coördinating committees, or special citizens' groups attempt to attack the problem and lay the groundwork for its solution. This is a job that cannot be done in the neighborhood but is possible on a higher level.

In the days when fifth reader or eighth-grade graduation was the assumed top for our rural education program, the educating function rested largely with neighborhoods. As soon as twentieth-century demands and social expectation required graduation from high school, then education very definitely became a community function. This shift of function and the concomitant lag in structural change is apparent in the battles over the reorganization of school districts on a community basis. In this case the community gained a social function which was being lost by the neighborhoods in its substructure.

Whereas working together for betterment was once a function for a neighborhood, today the base has broadened so that action programs, educational and otherwise, are functions of the total community. Instead of the individuals involved doing the planning, plans are now delegated to leaders. The execution of such plans in action programs is often left to the specialists, not necessarily outsiders, but members of a community most willing to become active on an educational development program.

In our frontier culture, the use of leisure time was almost entirely a neighborhood and family responsibility. The machine age coming to the village and the farm has meant more leisure and an essential community responsibility in planning for its constructive use. It can be assumed that the need for such planning is more essential in the village center where both children and retired folk are in the greatest concentration. Even so, those in rural-farm areas are concerned and are able to take advantage of whatever form of structure (program, organization, guidance facilities, work rooms) the community develops to meet its leisure-time needs wisely.

CITY CHANGE

Just as the community has gained certain functions as they were lost by the neighborhood, so it has lost functions gained by the city. These have been largely in economic areas. The community center was once the place to buy clothing and furniture, but today community citizens go to the city for these. Shipping associations had their stockyards near the railroad tracks in the rural village. Today in many regions trucks move the stock directly to the city stockyards.

The city has not been the silent partner in all this change. More and more it has recognized its rural trade area. A city of 25,000 population may be serving twenty rural communities that extend in a 30-mile radius from its core. More and more the farm and village people have been recognizing the functions the city can meet better than a rural community. The city structure, as it develops in relation to the rural community, is developing for specific functions. Most of these could be classified as economic, yet the influence of the city as a cultural center cannot be overlooked. The traveling theater players, the symphonies, the radio and television stations, the teacher's college, and the junior colleges are established as structures to serve both city and a number of rural communities around it. This concern for the rural villages and farms is most apparent when listening to a locally-produced radio program coming from a city of 5,000 to 30,000 population that is surrounded by rural communities.

Where there is insufficient demand for a product, social, cultural, or economic, at the local community level it often becomes the function of the city to meet that need for those rural communities and the others

surrounding it. In this respect the increasing accessibility of the rural communities to the city has been the factor responsible for the increasing significance of the city for rural life.

FACTORS INFLUENCING CHANGE

There are many factors which have been influential in changing our rural communities to what they are today. Chief among the factors stimulating change are motor transportation, mechanized farming, and mass media. These three have wielded influence on all aspects of rural community life. They have helped to change the school, churches, stores, crops raised, the fertilizers used, the time available for leisure, the relationships between neighbors, and even what rural people think.

MOTOR TRANSPORTATION

The motorcar has done more to shrink the economic and cultural distance between farm village and city than any other single invention. Without motor travel by car or bus, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to develop the near-universal high-school education program, the fluid milk markets, the Agricultural Extension program, the artificial insemination rings, or the city-country drives that mark a typical Sunday afternoon.

Before the automobile, distance was measured in miles. Today, distance is measured in time. The full day's shopping trip to a village six miles distant has given way to dash-in, dash-back, one-hour venture that means little in the day's work load. For the old team trip to the village that took a day's time, we can now substitute the day's drive to a city one hundred miles away and still be home for chores. This shrinking of time and space for the farm, village, and city dweller has meant changes in people. The farmer and farmer's wife have been forced to adjust to new social situations. The village merchants have done the same, as well as adjusting their businesses to some of the new ideas their customers learned from city shopping trips.

The automobile has changed the nature of the use of leisure time in the rural community. The team-haul time factor limited the recreational contacts of farm and village people to their own community; in the open country it was limited for the most part to their own neigh-

neighborhood. In certain homogeneous culture groups, the inroads of the automobile have not been too great since use of leisure time is more or less controlled by group pressure. However, in the more typical heterogeneous social grouping, young and old leave the team-haul recreation area and go far afield. The county 4-H Club council plans a summer play day and over one-half of the 4-H members from the entire county are in attendance. The county rural youth club decides to visit one of the state's scenic wonders, over 150 miles from home, so charts a bus for a full day's excursion. The community high school plans a fall festival, and farm and village folk gather at the school for their fun and frolic. Because of the new broadening contacts, the very nature of recreation has changed. The automobile has been effective in fostering commercial recreation, while interfamily neighborhood recreation has become less. This shift in the use of leisure time is a real issue among rural folks and indicates the adjustment problems faced by individuals in adjusting to changes brought about by invention.

Church ranks with school as a potent social force in rural America. The automobile has influenced the church as it has the school. The traditionalism of the country on religious matters has been affected greatly by the opportunities that transportation gave for rural village and farm people to see and hear what others believe. No longer was it essential to consider the availability of a neighborhood church of the right denomination when moving to a different farm. In most of rural America, one can now find a church of his choice within driving distance. The newly married farm couple can now choose between supporting a neighborhood church holding services every other Sunday and a village church ten miles away or a city church twenty-five miles distant holding weekly services.

The automobile has made it possible for rural people to choose any one of several churches and, in so doing, has created one of the most important problems ever faced by the rural church. The heterogeneous religious affiliations of people in the same neighborhood have tended to break down certain traditions once thought sacred by the frontier settlers. Figure 24 shows the churchgoing patterns of a sample of fifty-six rural families with children in school. It is significant to note that twenty-two of these families attend church in Winneconne, the village

center, eleven attend church at the Winchester neighborhood center, none of the sample attend the small rural church at Allenville, three families attend church at village centers outside the Winneconne community, and twenty families attend church at nearby cities (8 to 20 miles distant). Without the automobile, this attendance pattern would not be possible.

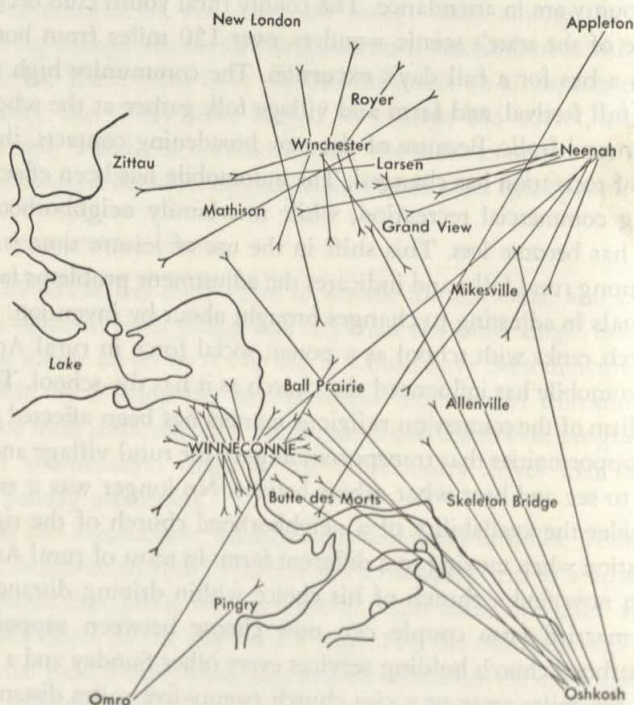


FIGURE 24. The Churchgoing Pattern of a Sample Group of Winneconne Community Adults.

The car and truck have been just as influential in reorganizing the buying and selling associated with the production of farm crops and livestock. For example, dairy products were once hauled to market by team and wagon. The market, often a neighborhood creamery or cheese factory, had to be near at hand. Today covered milk trucks pick up the electrically cooled milk at the farmer's milkhouse, or it is hauled to a large creamery, cheese factory, or collection point in a farm truck or

trailer. The entire dairy marketing service has been revolutionized by modern methods of transportation. It is again evident that the change in an economic structure of a community is more rapid and is accomplished with greater ease and understanding than the change in a social structure in the same community.

FARM MECHANIZATION

Significant changes in rural community living have also been accomplished by the rapid mechanization of the entire farming program. Milking machines, hay balers, cotton pickers, potato diggers, tree planting machines, tractors with hydraulic attachments, rubber-tired farm wagons, and dozens of other inventions have given the farmer a chance to produce more for each hour of labor. This has meant greater production for many and more free time for others. In farming, free time is often traded for production. For this reason many farmers claim that they work just as hard and long with each new labor-saving machine. The mechanization has moved into the house too, and today we see refrigerators, electric lights and sewing machines, automatic washers and dryers, running water, electric mixers, gas stoves, deep freezers, and other late and often elaborate inventions that are claimed to keep the farm wife happy.

The free time available to village persons and farmers because of mechanization is not as great as one would imagine. However, it does make a change in rural living, and makes possible for rural people to choose from among the different activities available to them within reasonable driving range. Vacations were once laughed at by farmers, but during certain seasons of the year modern equipment makes it possible for more and more farmers to schedule a vacation. In this way, too, cosmopolitan influences are reaching to the rural community.

MASS MEDIA

The mass media of communication have given farm and village the complete contact with the entire world that makes almost impossible the retaining of old provincial frontier attitudes of the past. Once the only written or oral contact of the ruralite with the outside world was the village weekly or foreign language weekly and a trade journal.

Today the daily newspapers from the nearby city, and national weeklies, the highly advertised magazines, radio, and television, are easily available. The influence of the mass media may not change rural attitudes itself, but when coupled with rapid transportation and scientific farming, it may provide the final pressure to move rural thinking away from a centering in the primary or near-primary group. What went on beyond the community boundaries was once of little concern to the rural citizen, but now his base of operation has been unmistakably broadened.

The nature of rural attitudes is such that educational change is considerably behind mechanical and economic change, and educational demands of modern society are not readily recognized. When he does recognize them, the farmer must be very certain of the urgency of these demands before he attempts to meet them. This is a characteristic developed by the nature of his rural environment. As the environment becomes more closely associated with the urban culture, he will react differently. A lag in educational development is only one characteristic brought about by present rural-urban differences. As rural life changes in its reaction to the multitude of new forces playing upon it, the attitudes of rural people follow in changing with it. Certain new attitudes may be developed that will make educational change easier; other attitudes may tend to impede change. Certain characteristics of rural life probably will never be the same as urban life, so that in certain respects there will always be differences in the ways the two groups approach education. Since education need not be uniform to be effective, educational leaders should consider seriously the development of rural education on its own merits rather than attempt to copy city systems. The rural community school described in chapter 8 is one frame of reference from which a stronger rural education program might be developed.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A. 1. With the aid of your librarian, locate a book which best describes community transition in your state or region. What community elements are still in the process of change?
2. Compare the churchgoing pattern pictured in Figure 24 with the pattern in Figure 13. The fact that the community in Figure 24 has

fewer neighborhoods in the farm service area is of significance. Why is it significant?

3. Prepare a list of the educational function of each of these groups:
 - a. The neighborhood.
 - b. The rural community.
 - c. The village center.
 - d. The city.

- B. 1. Using as point of reference the cycle of the social process described in Table 16, analyze changes taking place in the following:
 - a. School district reorganization.
 - b. Agricultural subsidies.
 - c. School curriculum change.
 - d. Marketing of farm produce.
 - e. Program of the farm organizations.

Be sure to consider each change in terms of the phase, the type of leadership, the procedure of leaders, and the characteristic reactions of the people to the various phases.

2. What factors in addition to motor transportation, farm mechanization, and mass media have been exerting great influence toward change in rural communities?
3. What changes do they prompt? Why?
4. What present educational functions of the rural community might eventually become functions of the county or of a larger region? Why is this likely to occur?

CHAPTER 6

The Historical Role of the Rural School

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The first rural schools were organized to give boys and girls the basic tools to be God-fearing citizens. The years of schooling necessary to meet the minimum requirements of that objective were few, the standards of teaching were low, and the facilities required were negligible.

The density of population and the means of travel and communication were such that the school either had to be designed for small groups of village or farm families, or it would not be accessible. The rural school was small, because it had to be small. It served families within walking or team-haul distance of the school. The only alternative for farm children living in the open country was "boarding out" in the village, which was never given much consideration.

An understanding of the difficulties encountered in establishing early rural schools, their objectives as conceived by hard-working and frugal frontiersmen, and the position of the teacher in the community life of the frontier give us insight into the thought processes which tend to slow the present progress of rural education. Knowledge of the way rural schools began and how they grew clarifies our conception of what they are.

NEW ENGLAND

In the early colonial settlements a clergyman and a schoolmaster were of the first consideration. Most of the early schools were estab-

lished in the villages. As the country developed, these villages became cities. New rural villages were developed as the population moved westward. In the early seventeenth century a number of rural villages had organized their resources so as to support a schoolmaster and hold school for at least a portion of each year. The real birth of our rural school system, however, was in the passage of the 1647 Massachusetts Bay Colony Statutes in the Colonial Assembly. The following excerpt from colonial records clearly pictures the setting and the thinking that accompanied this beginning of a widespread education.

It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as, in former times, keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these later times, by persuading from the use of tongues; so that at last the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; and to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fore-fathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors: It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read; whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in the adjoining towns.

And it is further ordered that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar-school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university; and if any town neglect the performance hereof, above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order.¹

Significant to rural education is the requirement in this statute, when townships have fifty householders, that they are required to appoint a schoolmaster from within their town. Failure to meet this requirement would bring a fine of five pounds. This fine was the equivalent of a

¹ Richard G. Boone, *Education in the United States*, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1903, p. 46.

laborer's pay for 200 days' work, and was more extreme than generally realized.

THE WEST

The Massachusetts Bay Colony Statutes followed the westward migration and, as new territories were opened, school laws and codes were adopted patterned on the Massachusetts statutes. In Michigan, the territorial legislature of 1827 modeled its advanced school laws after those of Massachusetts. One striking difference, however, was the change in the number of families sufficient to establish a school. Twenty families were judged sufficient in the Michigan territory. This change indicates that Western settlements, which were more sparsely settled, were at the same time unwilling to wait to organize their schools until more settlers arrived. Further changes in Michigan law were indicated in 1829 when property of nonresidents was made taxable for school purposes, and in 1835 when provision was made for the first permanent State Superintendent of Public Instruction.²

When Wisconsin became a separate territory in 1836, and changed from Michigan territorial laws to its own, the assembly developed school laws based largely on the Massachusetts district school system, a school census, and district taxation for schools. An interesting change, which indicated the sparse rural settlement of the new territory, was the provision for ten families being a sufficient minimum to establish a school. We can see from this example the general characteristic of the Western schools to copy the New England district system, yet to change it in ways considered essential to meet the needs of a new land settlement pattern.

These early developments and changes do not indicate that education was a major consideration in the lives of the adult population. Certainly before 1820, developments in purpose and process of education were slow. In view of the simple agricultural life of the time, the absence of cities, the isolation of villages, and the lack of any real evidence that education made for a better life on the frontier, it is not difficult to understand why no real education awakening or stirring

² Elwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, p. 76.

came until after the War of 1812. It was then that a national consciousness was being born, and that many rather than a few believed that the United States actually could govern itself. Plans for education and overall territorial and national development then became a concern of leaders in the nation.³

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The early school district was a product of the disintegration of the New England town. The town was a settlement area of from twenty to forty square miles, in which everyone was required to live not more than one-half mile from the meetinghouse and to attend town meetings and send his children to school. Some years after the original settlements, the reasons for such a compact grouping of citizens in a town disappeared, and new settlers built homes two, three, and four miles from the meetinghouse. Thus it became difficult and even impossible to maintain the old traditions of church and town-meeting attendance. Changes in both laws and custom resulted, and in most cases the basic group concerned was farmers. By 1725, the population of most of the old towns had been dispersed to all areas of the town and cut off from the old village-type life of the early farm settlement.

Cubberley points out that as the dispersion gained momentum, the tendency to subdivide the town became marked and each subdivision began to demand its own local rights.⁴ First the subdivisions demanded their own minister or special services, then roads and tax units. The result seriously impeded the central town school, so new town laws were needed. Compromise between those living near the old town meetinghouse and those "out in the town" had to be made. The result was free tax-supported schools which at first moved from parish to parish, then to town center for a number of weeks each year, depending upon the amount of taxes paid by each group. The next logical step was to return to each parish or newly formed school district the money it had paid in school taxes and let it maintain its own schools. This came about during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and with it came the right and the responsibility to elect school trustees,

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

levy taxes, and select the teacher. This was the district system which gradually spread over the United States and still exists in various forms in many rural areas today.

The early school district had advantages in a developing rural frontier society. Certainly the democratic inspiration of Andrew Jackson's victorious election as president was felt in the most remote district of the day. The education in civic-spirited citizenship, the opportunity for even the most isolated group to meet and defend its points of view, the chance for participation as an active government officer by thousands of farm people, and the decision making in face-to-face relationships played a real and vital role in the kind of democracy that emerged in the United States.

However, the traditions of local control that this system established, and the exaggerated idea of small-unit importance that developed from it, made difficult any future change and improvement of the small district system. As early as the late eighteenth century, and continuing to the present, many small units have felt and expressed the idea of small unit perfection, jealousy of larger or more prosperous units, and bitter resentment of proposals by proponents of change.

Many of the earlier powers of the small district have been removed and placed in control of county school officers and state departments of public instruction. Such items as textbook selection, curriculum, certification of teachers, length of school term, rate of tax levy, and minimum building requirements have been removed from the jurisdiction of the local district trustees. It is only normal that the traditions and controls which remain in the small local district are guarded jealously.

OBJECTIVES OF THE EARLY SCHOOL

Certainly one point is very clear concerning the early American rural schools. They had a purpose, and the citizens of the district knew the purpose of the school. Beginning with the first colonial elementary schools, and continuing well into the national period, the religious purpose of instruction was uppermost in the minds of citizen and schoolmaster. The student learned to read the Bible and his catechism and to fear the Lord. For students going beyond the elementary schools,

the goal was almost universally that of becoming a minister to serve church and state.

The dominance of this religious purpose began to weaken shortly after the American Revolution. The first secular textbooks were published, more schoolmasters obtained the reputations of being "arithmetickers," and the "scrivener" began to appear. Although the religious purposes diminished slowly, still reading, writing, and arithmetic soon became the core of the curriculum. Looking at the early rural schools from the modern viewpoint, we see little that could have made them efficient. Yet their products were by no measurable means any less fit for the society in which they were to spend their adult lives than were the products of the modern schools more than a century later. Any liberal attitude in the early schools was overpowered by religious purpose, supplies and equipment were completely lacking, there was little paper for writing, teaching methods were individualized, slow, and laborious, the school hours were long and the seats uncomfortable. If such school environmental conditions existed today, could we do better, even with a "modern" philosophy and comprehensive objectives?

TEACHERS IN THE EARLY SCHOOLS

The teachers in the early schools were primarily drill masters and disciplinarians. Their training for teaching was almost always nil and often the desire to teach was missing. Early historical records of the schools indicate that many teachers taught as the last resort. "If you can read you can teach," seemed to be the license of that day. Boone indicates that the early records describe country teachers as "often low-bred, intemperate, adventurers of the Old World. . . . At least two-thirds of the contemporary (1763) Maryland education was derived from instructors that were either indentured servants or transported felons."⁵ Until the mid-nineteenth century, most of the winter teachers were men, while a few short-term summer teachers were women. In the rural districts the teachers were often farm laborers who "taught" in the winter and worked as day laborers in the summer.

Perhaps it was well that the purposes of education were few, that the

⁵ Boone, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

control of the school by local citizens or church was complete. With the teaching profession at the level of the most menial job, real control was necessary. Fortunately, the elementary schools soon moved from that unhealthy situation, and by the early nineteenth century standards of training were being established by other than trustees of the district school. Institutions saw the need for training teachers, and the objectives of education placed the teacher in the role of a guide to instruction rather than an instructor taskmaster.

The training of the teacher began to be specifically for teaching. His status in the community was raised, and less undesirable teachers remained in the schools for year after year.

From the early colonial days to the present, better rural teachers have been a great concern to the profession. A look at history shows what great strides have been made, yet a look at the rural teacher today often points to even greater strides needed.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SCHOOL TO OTHER EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, and after in many cases, the rural school was one of the few social centers in a rural neighborhood. The home, the church, and the school were the three social organizations of the time, and also were the only places people could get together for religious, social, and educational purposes. The church meetings were all-day affairs, the visits to neighbors were family affairs, school meetings were attended by everyone, and the school was used for numerous school-neighborhood occasions during the year. There were few formal organizations in the neighborhood. Thus the use of the school for any purpose tended to make it a center of total neighborhood activity. School events did not have to compete with the local theater, the Women's Club meeting, the V.F.W., and the Farm Bureau meeting. When the schools sponsored an event, that in itself was an event, and everyone took part.

The box social, the Christmas program, and the school picnic developed reputations as being big events in lives of all the people of the school district. The rural schoolteacher, if an unattached female, became the prize for which all the young men in the neighborhood bat-

tled. The school, its activities and its teacher soon became an integral part of the neighborhood life.

The rural school did not grow up in isolation, although there was an absence of the many organizations that beset modern rural society. This may have given the school an inflated opinion of itself as a social as well as educational institution. As the many organizations developed in rural society, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century, the school became the meeting place for many of them, and such a passive extent of coöperation satisfied professional school people. Perhaps the school was isolating itself from real community life without realizing it. Opening the doors of a one-room school one night a month for the 4-H Club meeting is a great deal different from a recognition of the 4-H Club organization and its program in terms of planning and helping to carry out that program. Full coöperation includes active leadership participation on the part of rural teachers whose students are members of the club.

As total community organizations became more common, the significance of the high school in the life of rural citizens increased. Here too, the use of the school building for special purposes seemed to satisfy educators as being enough coöperation. By its meeting-space lend-lease arrangements for other rural education agencies, the school fostered the idea that it was a building rather than an institution. That development of the early twentieth century has not completely disappeared, and it needs to be considered when surveying the status of any community's educational development. Figure 25 demonstrates a real change in educational function of the old rural neighborhood.

The increased influence of formal and informal educational organizations and agencies has recently become apparent to both rural citizen and rural school. During the period of rapid development of rural organizations, there has been great change taking place in the schools. The foci of school organization have been moving from the neighborhood (with the school as the center) to the community (with the village as the center). This realignment of the school community has in many instances encouraged a recognition of the developing organizations with resulting significance to the total educational program of a community. This new relationship between school and other facets of

community life is described more fully in chapter 8. At this point it should be remembered that the rural school as it is today has not moved to the third stage of more complete school-community coordination and interagency recognition. In many instances the rural school is still a building which is asked for and paid for by other educational groups when they need a place to meet. In a few isolated instances it is still



FIGURE 25. A Homemakers' Meeting in an Abandoned One-Room School Demonstrates Changing Educational Functions of the Neighborhood. (Photo, Courtesy of the U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service.)

about the only organization outside of home and church contacted by people of the neighborhood.

The relationship of the schools with other agencies in the community is a growing, modern development demanded by our changing rural society.

THE DILEMMA OF THE RURAL SCHOOLS

The rural school system today has been built during and preceding an era of rapid social change. The demands placed upon the schools have changed. The significance of rural society has shifted, and the very make-up of the rural community is in a state of flux. This places

a tremendous responsibility upon the school that is trying to prepare citizens to work effectively in an environment of change. In many respects the school people face a dilemma—whether to do what they feel should be done or to do what they know is easiest to do. Our present system of rural education is much like a crazy quilt. As each new educational objective was formulated, it was added to the existing objectives. As more space was needed, an extra room or sets of rooms were added—sometimes with a passageway and the recently institutionalized and traditional fire door. As new administrative organization was needed to meet new needs adequately, it often meant new and overlapping organizations such as the separate elementary- and high-school districts rather than a comprehensive district based on long-range and realistic planning.

The problem facing the rural community as a result of its unique historical development, its established traditions, and its new role in modern society is this: Should it continue to patch the crazy quilt or make a complete break with the old, establishing a “new school” in line with the modern rural community and present-day educational objectives? The answer to this question can only be arrived at by looking at the educational needs of rural society and the programs the educational agencies have developed to meet these needs. If it seems probable that educational needs can be met efficiently by more patching, then this should be done. If, on the other hand, a real change is necessary, then that too should be done.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Trace the growth and development of rural schools in your state. These may be found in records of the state department of public instruction or in books concerning the history of education in your state.
 2. Select from your library or state historical library several textbooks used in the elementary grades prior to 1870. Compare them to books used in rural elementary schools today.
- B.
 1. In what ways do the early patterns of school district structure still persist?

2. What is the influence of these early structures on the development of modern school programs?
3. What powers of the early rural school districts in your state have now been turned over to each of the following?
 - a. The community.
 - b. The county.
 - c. The intermediate district.
 - d. The state.
 - e. The federal government.
4. What present local district powers are in the process of becoming more centralized?
5. To what extent are rural community schools used by agencies other than the school? in collaboration with agencies other than the school?

CHAPTER 7

The Educational Needs of Rural Society

In every important aspect, the needs of youth are the same in city, village, and farm. The educational needs of urban and rural society can readily be formulated about certain basic criteria. Even though such an approach can be made, there are certain advantages in viewing these needs of society separately as well as collectively.

Certain of our important educational organizations and agencies have spent much time developing key lists of educational needs applicable to all America. Three will be reviewed briefly and from these, as well as from the specific background of rural society, a list more applicable to rural education will be derived and considered.

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND OBJECTIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

From 1918 to the present, the recurring statements from the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education have been most influential in helping school systems adjust to definite goals. Based upon the activity analysis technique, the commission drastically changed the point of view existing prior to 1918 and produced the following seven objectives which are often erroneously listed as "Seven Cardinal Principles of Education." The seven objectives of the commission are:

1. Health
2. Command of fundamental processes

3. Worthy home membership
4. Vocation
5. Citizenship
6. Worthy use of leisure
7. Ethical character.¹

These seven objectives, coming at a time when educational thinking was doing an about-face in America, were most influential in setting the course for schools from 1918 up to the present day. The profession needed to grasp at sound objectives, and the commission supplied them at the crucial moment. Undoubtedly they have done more than any other statement of objectives to shape American school policy.

The statement of educational purposes by the Educational Policies Commission has likewise been influential since its report in 1938 in *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. In this report the effort was made to base purposes upon "the desirable elements of information, skill, habit, interest and attitude which will most surely promote individual development and encourage democratic ways of living." Since the comprehensive list of characteristics in this report provides a basis for considering meaningful program objectives in both urban and rural schools (elementary, secondary, and adult), the full list of behavior characteristics for the four aspects of educational purposes is presented:

THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

<i>The Inquiring Mind.</i>	The educated person has an appetite for learning.
<i>Speech.</i>	The educated person can speak the mother tongue clearly.
<i>Reading.</i>	The educated person reads the mother tongue effectively.
<i>Writing.</i>	The educated person writes the mother tongue effectively.
<i>Number.</i>	The educated person solves his problems by counting and calculating.
<i>Sight and Hearing.</i>	The educated person is skilled in listening and observing.

¹ U. S. Bureau of Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, Bulletin No. 35, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 10-11, by the Educational Policies Comm.

<i>Health Knowledge.</i>	The educated person understands the basic facts concerning health and disease.
<i>Health Habits.</i>	The educated person protects his own health and that of his dependents.
<i>Public Health.</i>	The educated person works to improve the health of the community.
<i>Recreation.</i>	The educated person is participant and spectator in many sports and other pastimes.
<i>Intellectual Interests.</i>	The educated person has mental resources for the use of leisure.
<i>Esthetic Interests.</i>	The educated person appreciates beauty.
<i>Character.</i>	The educated person gives responsible direction to his own life.

THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

<i>Respect for Humanity.</i>	The educated person puts human relationships first.
<i>Friendships.</i>	The educated person enjoys a rich, sincere and varied social life.
<i>Coöperation.</i>	The educated person can work and play with others.
<i>Courtesy.</i>	The educated person observes the amenities of social behavior.
<i>Appreciation of the Home.</i>	The educated person appreciates the family as a social institution.
<i>Conservation of the Home.</i>	The educated person conserves family ideals.
<i>Homemaking.</i>	The educated person is skilled in homemaking.
<i>Democracy in the Home.</i>	The educated person maintains democratic family relationships.

THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

<i>Work.</i>	The educated producer knows the satisfaction of good workmanship.
<i>Occupational Information.</i>	The educated producer understands the requirements and opportunities for various jobs.
<i>Occupational Choice.</i>	The educated producer has selected his occupation.

<i>Occupational Efficiency.</i>	The educated producer succeeds in his chosen vocation.
<i>Occupational Adjustment.</i>	The educated producer maintains and improves his efficiency.
<i>Occupational Appreciation.</i>	The educated producer appreciates the social value of his work.
<i>Personal Economics.</i>	The educated consumer plans the economics of his own life.
<i>Consumer Judgment.</i>	The educated consumer develops standards for guiding his expenditures.
<i>Efficiency in Buying.</i>	The educated consumer is an informed and skillful buyer.
<i>Consumer Protection.</i>	The educated consumer takes appropriate measures to safeguard his interests.

THE OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

<i>Social Justice.</i>	The educated citizen is sensitive to the disparities of human circumstance.
<i>Social Activity.</i>	The educated citizen acts to correct unsatisfactory conditions.
<i>Social Understanding.</i>	The educated citizen seeks to understand social structure and social processes.
<i>Critical Judgment.</i>	The educated citizen has defenses against propaganda.
<i>Tolerance.</i>	The educated citizen respects honest differences of opinion.
<i>Conservation.</i>	The educated citizen has a regard for the nation's resources.
<i>Social Applications of Science.</i>	The educated citizen measures scientific advance by its contribution to the general welfare.
<i>World Citizenship.</i>	The educated citizen is a coöperating member of the world community.
<i>Law Observance.</i>	The educated citizen respects the law.
<i>Economic Literacy.</i>	The educated citizen is economically literate.
<i>Political Citizenship.</i>	The educated citizen accepts his civic duties.

Devotion to Democracy.

The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals.²

A more recent report of the Educational Policies Commission gives even clearer direction to our thinking regarding the specific needs of youth. These have been labeled the Ten Imperative Needs of Youth and very clearly apply to rural and urban youth alike:

1. All youth need to develop salable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life. To this end, most youth need supervised work experience as well as education in the skills and knowledge of their occupations.
2. All youth need to develop and maintain good health and physical fitness.
3. All youth need to understand the rights and duties of the citizen of a democratic society, and to be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation.
4. All youth need to understand the significance of the family for the individual and society and the conditions conducive to successful family life.
5. All youth need to know how to purchase and use goods and services intelligently, understanding both the values received by the consumer and the economic consequences of their acts.
6. All youth need to understand the methods of science, the influence of science on human life, and the main scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and of man.
7. All youth need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music and nature.
8. All youth need to be able to use their leisure time well and to budget it wisely, balancing activities that yield satisfactions to the individual with those that are socially useful.
9. All youth need to develop respect for other persons, to grow in their insight into ethical values and principles, and to be able to live and work cooperatively with others.

² Reprinted from: *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*, pp. 50, 72, 90, 108, by permission of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, of the United States, Copyright, 1938, by Educational Policies Commission.

10. All youth need to grow in their ability to think rationally, to express their thoughts clearly, and to read and listen with understanding.³

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND OBJECTIVES OF RURAL SOCIETY

With the advance in our thinking regarding the purposes of education since 1918, and the listing of these purposes by commissions and policy forming organizations, it becomes essential to reconstruct them, add to them, and make them more meaningful for education in a rural society. In addition, the development of educational agencies other than the school provides resources for education which have not always been present. The following consideration of educational needs of rural society is done with these factors in mind. It also considers the educational agency which should be able to do both the best and most efficient job in meeting those needs.

DEVELOPMENT OF ABILITY TO USE BASIC SKILLS EFFECTIVELY

The early history of the rural school was largely a history of teaching, religion, the "Three R's," and a bit of discipline. They were not necessarily taught well nor with any high purpose other than the need for children to grow up with the ability to read the Bible, transact a little business in pen and ink, and do enough ciphering to enable them to trade with neighbors or with storekeepers without being "taken in."

The need for proficiency in the basic skills is much greater in rural society today than it was for our forefathers on the frontier. There is more use to be made of reading, writing and/or typing, and arithmetic in modern society than ever before in history. Rural boys and girls are largely vertical migrants, and as such meet new situations that neither occurred nor were anticipated as little as fifty years ago.

Teaching the basic skills is still, and perhaps always will be, delegated largely to the school. It is the one objective-basis for advancing to higher educational levels; it is an essential for intelligent participation in other educational agencies; and it has become almost an essential even for menial employment in city, village, and farm.

Although the school is delegated the major task of meeting this

³ Reprinted from *Education for All American Youth* by the Educational Policies Commission, by permission of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association of the United States, Copyright, 1944, by Educational Policies Commission.

need, there are responsibilities inherent in the functions of other agencies. Without help from community organizations and individuals it is difficult for the school to be sure the skills learned are used effectively or even related to the work of the community. Participation by citizen groups in curriculum development can be very effective in bringing to school people a realization of the practical use of skills related to significant tasks present in the community itself.

The writer recalls a recent series of visits to a one-room school where it appeared that a good share of the teacher's and students' time was used in memorizing certain skills deemed essential to good reading and for arithmetic. The real understanding and the possibility of effective use of the memorized skills were checked with a number of children. An interesting incident occurred when a group of three eighth-grade farm boys were observed correctly working a problem asking for the number of sacks of cement to be purchased to build a swimming pool of specified dimensions using a specific sand and cement mixture. When the writer pointed to a farmer's barn about twenty rods away, and asked how they would figure out how much cement to buy to build a foundation for such a barn, none could answer, nor make any reasonable guess as to how the problem might be solved.

The need to use basic skills effectively can be met in the schools, but the teacher, along with the local citizen, must continually evaluate the true meaning of the effective use of a skill. The place to teach and the method to teach basic skills are primarily professional problems that are by no means solved. Thus the decision of what to do is left largely to the individual teacher in the one-room school, or the groups of teachers in a larger unit. Teaching basic skills effectively may well become a community's number one study problem when teachers, parents, and administrators sit down together and work out what might best be done for that particular community. It is a careful consideration of the background of the community that makes teaching of basic skills more effectively useful.

DEVELOPING UNDERSTANDING OF ONE'S OWN COMMUNITY

With the face-to-face relationships of the frontier neighborhood and with the large family with a simple rural life as the major outlook for most rural youngsters, it was not particularly important to know more

about one's community than what one could pick up by hearsay and individual contact. The rural community of horse and buggy, cracker box, and potbellied stove has changed. The rural community is now filled with activities, organization, concrete and macadam roads, tractors, livestock truckers, milk haulers, and television sets. It is this change from the simple to the complex that demands more than hearsay and individual contact.

A number of rural educational organizations have recognized the necessity of developing more knowledge of the community in which people live. The development of the community school is in line with the school's recognition of this need. Community service projects of the 4-H Clubs and the F.F.A. indicate their recognition of the need. Women's clubs, the Farm Bureau, and even fraternal organizations see fit to study the "home community" to discover its problems and attempt to interrelate its many activities.

Truly the development of community understanding is a task for educational agencies at all levels of the educational program—formal or informal, for young or old. The school and the youth organizations have the particular responsibility of developing this understanding among the young people. It is with knowledge and understanding that proper action for community improvement can be taken. By seeing only one small sphere of a community it is likely that community action creates more problems than it solves. The action phase of community improvement is largely the result of the adult citizens' decision. With that in mind, adult educational organizations also have a task of developing a more complete and mature understanding among adults.

Often school and other community organizations can learn together and work together in the process of community improvement. The story of the high-school survey in Pulaski, Wisconsin, that brought a shoe factory to town is an example of youth and adult groups learning more about their community with community progress as the product.

In Pulaski, the basic philosophy underlying the entire school system is that the very existence of the school is expressed in terms of its value in improving the *individual and community*. By the oneness of this approach, the curriculum must be "alive." The community is made up

of individuals who have been educated in its schools and are the product of the school history. In line with an understanding of this, the school seeks first to understand itself and then the community of which it is a part. After that is accomplished, the understandings can progress to county, state, national, and international level.

Thus the way of making a living in Pulaski is a significant area of study and a reason for the high-school class in 1946 suggesting to the community that it needs to cooperate in providing work opportunities for returning servicemen. A shoe factory was the result, not because of the school's program alone, but because the community was willing to use the school as a source of information about its needs. Additional evidence in 1953 shows that the school is again cooperating with the community in developing a fund to provide additional work opportunities.

Other activities of the Pulaski school in its effort to understand its community are shown in these ways: high-school typing students prepare the letters for the village board; water samples were collected and tested for impurities by high-school students when the village was concerned with a new sewer and water system; and the village weekly newspaper of 1700 circulation is prepared and edited by high-school students.

DEVELOPING UNDERSTANDING OF LIFE AND LIVING OUTSIDE THE LOCAL RURAL COMMUNITY

Although neighborhood groups remain in which attitudes and first-hand knowledge of the greater state and national communities are negative, rural people in general believe that their children should know more about other communities and other states. Transportation that brings strangers into a rural community also serves to take the "natives" out. Radio, newspaper, and television tell and show some things about other people and other communities that should be understood by all.

The old stigma attached to farm or country life has all but disappeared as a result of education. This does not indicate that there should not be separate and distinct culture groups in a democratic national society, but only that the groups which exist understand each other

better. This understanding of others can by no means come just from reading books or discussion under teacher guidance. It takes direct experience with other communities and other people. A sound justification for this understanding can be made to young people who remain in their local community after finishing their schooling.

In addition to the nonmigrating group, it is imperative that those who do leave the local community know about life and living, not only in their own rural community, but in cities of their own state and other states as well.

It would be an almost impossible task to meet this need fully. However, educational agencies have begun to recognize it and take action. The 4-H Clubs in particular can be pointed out as an educational organization with considerable emphasis placed on learning about others. The county achievement days, the club contests, county fairs, interclub visiting, the summer camps and leadership training meetings, the club events at state fairs, and the National 4-H Club Camp and the 4-H Club Congress are giving rural youth opportunities to learn that did not exist prior to 1920. Programs of exchange club visits between states similar to the Mississippi-Minnesota club member exchange in the summer of 1952 show even greater efforts toward meeting the need for more complete understanding. Following World War II, the 4-H Clubs made particularly great efforts to learn more about the world community by a program of exchange tours to foreign countries. Some of the most popular youngsters at club camps are foreign visitors who provide one very important means of meeting the particular need of world understanding.

Although the goal is sometimes overshadowed by other more immediate objectives, the schools are doing more and more to meet the need for intercommunity understanding. The school sports contests, forensic activities between schools, and the music festivals give ample opportunity for students to learn about each other and their environment. Exchange students and exchange teachers with other countries are direct recognition of this need. Schools in different sections of our nation have also recognized the great possibilities in exchanging selected students for one to several weeks. Thus a high-school boy from an Indiana farm would spend a time in an Arkansas high school and live

on an Arkansas farm while there. The situation would be reversed in a short time, and the Arkansas boy would attend the school of the Indiana boy and live on his farm. The possibilities in the exchange student program have barely been tapped, and rural communities particularly should look to this method as one of the great possibilities of furthering knowledge and understanding of others.

School and youth organizations, including those of the church, appear to have the best opportunity to meet this need where it can be most worthwhile. The bulk of the young people who migrate from rural communities to cities, other states, and even foreign countries are reached by these agencies. Other educational organizations have likewise been concerned. The Farmers Union has for a number of years sponsored educational tours for member families and holds camps for adults where understanding others is a real part of the program of work, and the Grange and Farm Bureau have begun programs of similar nature. The land-grant colleges have been a potent force in sponsoring regional or even state events where rural people have opportunities to meet. The traditional Farm and Home Week is one of the best examples of a state-wide function that helps meet this need among rural farm people.

With 50 percent of the farm youth leaving the rural community for the city, and with a total migration figure of an even greater magnitude, there has been developing a real demand for greater knowledge and understanding of life and living in places "away from home." Too often educational agencies assume that this need is met without special efforts on their part. Today it has become imperative in school curriculum planning and in the planning of programs of work in rural organizations that this need be given greater consideration.

PROVIDING BEST POSSIBLE GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING SERVICE FOR YOUTH

Stories of bitter disappointment for the boy or girl who made the wrong personal or vocational decision are being written daily. There was no recognized counselor to whom he could go to seek help before he made that decision by himself.

A farm girl may decide upon graduation from a small high school to

enroll for a nurse's training course. She finds upon application that she didn't have the necessary high school courses to make her eligible for training. The village boy of average ability may have planned to be a physician. Yet he finds out only after attempts to take a premedical course that he does not have the mental capacity to get through.

The 16-year-old farm boy may decide to quit school and farm. Though he may become a skilled farmer, his great contribution to society could well have been in science where his keen mind and intense interest would have been in demand had he continued in high school and the field of theoretical physics in college.

Youth continuously needs and seeks guidance. Often the search for help isn't recognized by the untrained person, nor is the point of view of youth given sound consideration. In personal and social as well as vocational guidance, there is a need for organized effort to gather information about youth and to help meet their guidance needs. If there is not a recognized person or place, the youth will seek help from any sources—some sound but limited, other unsound but convincing. Classroom teachers are a common source of help, some capable of counseling, others not. Other common sources in the school are the coach, the agriculture instructor, the janitor, and the school bus driver. Outside the school, young people may go to their minister or priest, to their 4-H Club leader, the neighbors or, in more cases than we like to admit, to their own peers who conveniently pool their lack of sound guidance and come up with what is represented as the final solution.

In too many rural communities no single institution has really done a sound job of counseling for young people. For rural society, that educational job is often more significant because of its dual role of preparing youth for either a rural or urban adult life to a much greater extent than is true for the cities.

The school is the institution that is in the best position to provide real pupil personnel services. This would be on a formally organized basis within a community school system, and for all grades K through 12. It would also mean real efforts toward in-service training of classroom teachers and special teachers so that the bulk of guidance could still come from teachers who know the child best, yet would now have the necessary tools and information to do a more adequate

counseling job. It would also help the teacher recognize the students who need special help and direct them to the proper source of aid.

To meet the need for top-notch pupil personnel service requires the coöperation of the other people in a community to whom young people go for help. The significance of guidance rendered by church leaders, leaders of youth organizations, and respected citizens should not be overlooked if the need for service is going to be met.

DEVELOPING ABILITY TO ACT IN A DEMOCRATIC FASHION

Democratic participation in problem solving is by no means as universally accepted as are broad generalizations about democracy. It is agreed by the majority that, in a democratic society, people should be taught to act in a democratic fashion. The methods used to accomplish this, or the agencies responsible for doing the job, are never quite clearly established. Rural people as a rule pride themselves on their democratic heritage, yet often are the first to rely upon autocratic curriculum controls to require teachers to teach (memorywise) the preamble to the Constitution or Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. There is a recognizable basic difference between being democratic in one's relationships with others and knowing about democracy. The need for democratic action being taught by democratic participation is being newly recognized and demanded by rural people.

The educational agencies essential to meet this need are many. In fact, it can be assumed that all must take part in the job of teaching democratic action before any real results can be expected. We are becoming increasingly aware of the dilemma often faced by those trying to teach democracy, the attempt to produce a democratic youth by autocratic means. The rural teacher who says, "That's a good idea but we'll have to do it this way in order to save time," the 4-H Club leader who comments, "We'll need the best representative we can get to that county meeting so it will have to be Betty," and the school board member who leaves unchallenged a remark that might keep ten voters away from the annual school meeting, all are examples of what may occur at the action level even if these people purport to teach democracy through their organizations.

Teaching of democratic participation cannot be left to one or two

agencies. The child who learns in school to work well with others only to discover that his father will not have any question concerned with his authority can become democratic only by chance. The girl in a family where coöperation and full family participation are high cannot be sure of becoming a democratic participator in society if she is discouraged from voting at 21 because of her color. Even the boys in Figure 26, having a democratic home life and a school where their in-



FIGURE 26. Teaching Democracy in Schools Must Be Followed by Democratic Experiences in the Home. (Photo, Courtesy of the University of Wisconsin.)

dividual integrity and contributions are respected, cannot be assured of being good democratic citizens if the organizations to which they belong operate on the basis of "power over" instead of "power with."

The need for producing democratic participators in our society can never wholly be achieved until all educational organizations work together on its solution. The school is in a primary role for developing knowledge of democracy and participation in democracy. The more informal youth education agencies have an ideal chance to create opportunity for participation, while agencies for adults have a tremendous responsibility to change certain adult attitudes by making facts available and showing firm example. Every rural educational organization

should discover and develop its particular role in meeting this need of democratic society.

DEVELOPING AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT EVERY CHILD WILL BECOME A "CLASS A" CITIZEN

Although children choose different vocations and at times end up in a job more by accident than design, it has become a recognized responsibility of our educational agencies to do everything possible for each individual to develop him to his utmost capacity. Realistically, this means building an educational program (school, 4-H Club, Grange) so that it does the most for the individual in his present or future niche in society.

In the development of education in the United States, we have seen a gradual shift from education for the few to education for all. Few rural children went beyond the "sixth reader" fifty years ago, while parents in certain urban economic and professional groups saw fit to have their children finish college. It is only in the last two decades that high-school education has been readily accepted in the farming regions.

With rural society's recognition of its responsibility to all educable children, more demands are made upon the teachers and leaders for an equitable effort to help bright, dull, handicapped, or just average children in whatever ways possible and with equal concern. The rise of the idea of using equal time for all is not significant, but the basic assumption among both professional and nonprofessional educators is that each child or adult can be helped to become more proficient in his present or future citizenship role. Certainly the grade and high school as one agency should be as concerned with the boy who is to become a farmer as with the one who will become a doctor or the one planning to go to a teacher-training institution. The 4-H Club should be just as concerned with helping the rural village girl in her sewing as it is with helping the farm girl on her food preservation project. The Farm Bureau should be as interested in helping the farm renter to become a more efficient and worthy farmer as it is with helping the farm owner in this way. The Farmers Union should also be as willing to produce "Class A" farm citizens by working with either the wealthy or the poor, the owner or the renter, the liberal or the conservative. Doing the best

possible for each might become the accepted responsibility of all rural education organizations.

Often the job of collecting city garbage is considered a lowly, menial task. Yet the writer's experience showed that one rural community produced a "Class A" garbage collector. When I moved to a different home, one of the first city services to appear was the garbage truck. The collector asked where the most convenient place would be for the garbage can—to the side? behind the garage? at the end of the lot? Any place would be all right with him, just so I was satisfied. Further conversation indicated that it was his first city job after moving from a farm in another section of the state. His considerate attitude, devotion to duty, and respect for the choices of the people whose garbage he collected stamped his former community as one which trains its young people well. Which rural educational agency was responsible for this "Class A" citizen? He had completed high school, been a member of the 4-H Club, attended Farm Bureau meetings with his parents, been a member of an open country church. Could any one agency do the job or must they all recognize certain common educational needs and accept their best possible individual programs of action to meet that need? The latter appears to be the answer that correlates with the rural coöperative spirit.

The teacher who refuses to give special help to Johnny because his father is the town drunk may be just the person keeping Johnny from realizing his potential worth. The 4-H leader concerned with helping Sally who has a fine home background, and also helping Jane who comes from the "wrong side of the tracks," is very likely a great influence toward good citizenship for both.

It may be difficult for some rural educators to accept the need for training all for "Class A" citizenship since so many rural youngsters end up away from rural farm or village. That factor makes the job of training more difficult but by the same token most necessary.

DEVELOPING UNDERSTANDING OF AND PARTICIPATION IN A FULLER LIFE

Miss Metcalfe is an art teacher at Maple, Wisconsin. Maple is an area of cut-over forests where farmers struggle hard to maintain a profitable venture. Miss Metcalfe could have taught her art classes to

the grade- and high-school children of the community school, and been accepted as a suitable teacher. But she did more than that. She considered carefully the suggestion of principal Nelson regarding the possibility of evening classes in art for the farm women of the area. She decided to see for herself if it would work, and began one class. The results were amazing. Farm women from neighborhood after neighborhood in the community began to phone the school or write to Miss Metcalfe, asking if she could show them some of the things they had been hearing about; and could another class be formed in their neighborhoods; and could she come out every other Tuesday evening all winter to meet with them. "Yes, we'll guarantee a class of fifteen who want one in this neighborhood," one said. The result was that two hundred farm women in a small rural community broadened their cultural horizons through participation in a community art program.

In 1942, an extension specialist at the University of Minnesota's College of Agriculture suggested that a group of fourteen counties prepare a pageant for a full evening's program at the "Winter Shows" held annually at Crookston in northwestern Minnesota. To some that seemed a wild idea but when members of county rural youth clubs were asked their opinions, the idea caught fire. Rural young people, 18-32 years of age, met with the specialist in recreation and mapped out a complete pageant dealing with the contributions of various foreign cultures to the upper midwest. Clubs from fourteen counties each had a specific part to play in the pageant, as well as parts which had to be integrated with those of the other counties. The final performance was the thrill of a lifetime to these young men and women from Minnesota farms, and a thrill and an inspiration to an audience of three thousand that could hardly believe such a performance was possible. These young people had an experience in music and creative recreation that added fullness to their life in a rural environment.

The veterans' organization or conservation department that stimulates worthy hobbies by bringing fly-tying specialists or wildlife experts to the rural community for lectures and discussion also helps to give rural citizens a creative outlet for the use of some of their leisure time.

Meeting needs in art, music, recreation, and creative use of leisure

is not the job of any one agency. The school may have a special role in developing some of the basic artistic skills, yet the encouragement to continue in some of these cultural pursuits must also come from such organizations and agencies as the Farm Bureau, the women's clubs, and the Agricultural Extension Service and the churches. This is another case when the need can only be met by all pulling together in selective but coördinated roles.

DEVELOPING A CURRICULUM WITH THE BREADTH AND DEPTH NECESSARY FOR TRAINING IN A WORLD SOCIETY, YET LOCALLY ORIENTED

Just as new school curriculum needs were growing in the 1800's, so were the educational demands for the kinds of programs farm organizations could provide. The growth in scope of the curriculum of the rural school coincided with the growth of the three great farm organizations, the Chautauqua, and the earliest efforts at farm institutes through the land-grant colleges.

Prior to the development of these agencies and the expanded curriculum of the rural school, the curriculum was merely a listing of the few courses. The courses of study were planned by county or state offices and were adopted and followed to the letter in the schools. Even the first programs of work of the farm organizations were specific for one or two jobs to be done—things to be taught. With few demands made upon our educational agencies, it may have been possible to have the very specific and narrow curriculum that "spelled out" all content and still be satisfied with the results.

During the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the demands changed; and with each new educational demand came a new look at our educational system. If the schools met certain new tasks rapidly enough, they became the key agency for teaching and developing the knowledge, skills, or the attitudes demanded. If the schools failed to recognize their new jobs, other agencies took over or were actually formed to do the job. The Agricultural Extension Service is a good example of an agency formed to do a vital educational job in rural society that was not being done by the schools or any other educational group. The 4-H Club program

within the Extension Service meets other educational needs that were never really understood or considered by the bulk of rural school people. Those who did try to work that type of program into the school system became instead the leaders of the 4-H Club movement within the Extension Service.

The history of these new developments points to the danger of letting curriculum demands lie idle. If they are left idle, new organizations or agencies are likely to be formed to tackle the job. This seems unnecessary and certainly inefficient considering the professional talent already at work trying to improve the school program and that of our organizations.

There is much to be done, however. The rural high school in particular is often beset with difficulties associated with its small size. Where less than twelve teachers are employed in a high-school system, it is very difficult to have a curriculum broad enough in subject matter to meet the demands of a modern society. More serious, however, is the difficulty of getting real breadth and depth into a particular subject area with teachers with low qualifications who are often found in small rural elementary and high schools.

Breadth and depth is no less difficult to achieve in programs of other educational agencies. Often what passes for education in a Farmers Union meeting no more than scratches on the surface of a problem, or is shallow discussion that educates no one, yet leads the members to think they have found answers. The 4-H Club projects designed for ages 10 through 20 have been recognized as too narrow in scope for late teen-agers, yet no real answer has been found to the problem of developing challenging 4-H projects for rural youth over 15 years of age.

Curriculum and program choice (self-feeder style) is important from childhood through maturity, in school and out, in country and in city. Local planning on the part of community citizens becomes more and more necessary as new demands are made. These demands must be weighed carefully by professional educators so that unique characteristics of a community are considered, and at the same time the national and world community are not overlooked. Were the curriculum of the schools and the programs of work in educational organizations

the same in all communities, we would be in the same difficulty as the early teacher who demanded that all children learn the same thing, at the same time, by the same method. Children are different, communities are different. Just as with children, we must learn to meet community demands in terms of present educational status and the resources available, and with content and by methods that will be understood.

DEVELOPING A SOUND PROGRAM OF ADULT EDUCATION

The farm and rural village population has changed considerably in age composition since census figures were first available. The rural population was extremely young during our country's development. Though generally younger in composition than the city, the rural population contains a much greater proportion of older people than it did formerly. This change is a result of the declining rural birth rate over the past three decades and the increasing life span of our population in general. The rural village has consistently had a larger proportion of retired people than other areas because of the large numbers of farm people who retire to the village.

This change in age composition coupled with increasing rural technological and cultural developments has led to new and more consistent demands for education for adults. Another reason for this demand is the fact that the more education a person has, the more he wants. Thus, as our levels of education have been raised in rural America, we have been automatically creating a demand for more education at the adult level. With each new invention to increase the time efficiency of farming and homemaking, there is time left to be used in other ways. Will it be used for self- or community improvement; for greater production or for larger holdings?

Educational groups must be ready to meet the needs of those beyond high-school age as those needs arise. Adult education through the public schools is not necessarily a new phenomenon, yet it is one with enough increasingly significant demand in rural society to cause educators to plan carefully the future course of their agencies. What can the school offer to young adults, the middle-aged village and farm wife, the businessman and the farmer, the near-retired or retired rural citi-

zen, the many semiretired rural people? What can be offered most effectively to these groups by social organizations with minor educational objectives? by the Agricultural Extension Service? by farm organizations, service organizations, or special groups?

What is done in planning for adult education needs to be done by all these agencies together. There are certain jobs for the school; there are certain facilities that the school has which could be used by others; and there are certain disadvantages the school has in reaching the adult population, so that coördination of educational programs for adults is essential for meeting new educational needs effectively. Underlying any effort made by the school in this regard is a new philosophy of an education that runs "from the cradle to the grave." Without that, the schools' role cannot develop adequately, nor can other agencies readily meet adult education demands themselves.

DEVELOPING AN AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES SIGNIFICANT IN OUR SOCIETY

The early educational institutions in the United States were firmly planted with moral and spiritual beliefs and traditions. Religious concepts were at the core of the curriculum and all other educational values were developed to revolve about this core. With the development of a strong belief in public education and the subsequent legal separation of church and state in school affairs, it was natural that the curriculum change emphasis from the religious to the secular. This in itself is not necessarily an issue with rural people. It is only so when the more universal moral and spiritual values and codes of ethics are deliberately or accidentally overlooked in the day-to-day activities of the school. There certainly should be opportunities to teach consideration of others, respect of property, and clean talk in a school situation, even if the core of learning has become secularized and scientific.

Moral and ethical values are no monopoly for any religious group, and are encouraged in all. The key rural educational agency in any training in moral and spiritual values is the rural church. Yet, as with the problems of meeting other rural needs, no one institution or agency seems logically required or capable of doing the entire job by itself. In a democratic society, it is unlikely that any one institution would

want this task. That does not mean that the school or clubs should teach religion, but only that the opportunity to make use of moral and ethical values in the cumulative experiences of daily living should be encouraged by them. Significantly related to the experiential climate provided in schools and club is the task both groups have to teach desirable values to those not connected formally with a church. There are large numbers of children and adults in rural society whose only contact with spiritual values deemed acceptable in our society is in the school or other nonchurch educational agency.

The teacher in a public school who is with children five days a week for nine months of the year can, and often does, teach through precept and example the very things which were demanded by the frontier schools with their core of religious instruction. There are great possibilities for educational improvement in this area alone and, as teacher qualifications for rural schools are raised, this is one area where better teacher selection could be made.

Other youth and adult agencies can also provide moral and spiritual experiences that add to this awareness and understanding by the rural citizen. The 4-H Club candlelighting service, when held at a 4-H Club camp, can be a thrilling spiritual experience. Sunday 4-H Club camp services held under a canopy of pines seems to bring God within reach of all.

Although the church and church-sponsored schools purposely accept the role of teaching religion and religious values, it appears unlikely that in the modern age of science they can do the entire job without the help of other educational agencies that hold to decent standards of ethics and morality. There is a place for all rural agencies in the development of the awareness and further understanding of our democratic society's moral and spiritual values. A reawakening to this responsibility is needed.

CONTINUOUS EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE COMMUNITY TO SEE WHETHER NEEDS ARE BEING MET

No educational program is sound unless it knows where it is going and how far it is advancing. All educational agencies have their objectives and goals, whether they be written in black and white or unwritten, which are accepted in broad terms by members or citizens.

These objectives arise from the efforts of society to meet the educational needs that confront it. Once agencies such as the school or a farm organization have their objectives clear they can set about building a curriculum or a program of work. In carrying through this program of work, it is very easy not to look back to see what were the original goals of the program. It is easier to coast along with the program, assuming that everything is under control. The educational process in our present complicated rural civilization demands continuous evaluation and reevaluation. Agencies must constantly examine their programs to determine whether they have reached their goals, how far they have progressed in one year or ten, whether new needs are being adequately met by a program designed last year or the year before.

No one type of evaluation can be proposed because the needs of no two communities are exactly alike. There may be certain of the needs listed in this chapter that are common to all rural communities, yet there are other significant needs that are important for only particular communities. Just as each community must identify its own needs and objectives and build its curriculum and program of work, so must each evaluate the results of its program.

Evaluation of progress or lack of progress is also necessary on an individual agency basis. As indicated in the description of the needs listed, certain agencies have major roles in the meeting of these needs, while other agencies have minor roles. In some instances, several groups may have equal responsibility and resources to do a needed job. Each agency should evaluate its program in relation to the potential contribution that it should be making among the educational agencies of the community. It is by knowing the job to be done, the program planned to do it, and the progress being made that rural education agencies can forge ahead in meeting adequately the educational needs of rural society.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A. 1. Review the complete reports of the Educational Policies Commission for a more complete understanding of its listing of purposes and needs.
2. To the list of educational needs and objectives, add those which

may not have broad implications but are significant for particular groups. Identify the groups which consider these objectives important.

3. From the 1950 census reports, summarize the data for your state which is of significance to the development of sound adult education programs.
- B.
1. Which of the agencies of rural education have an active program which is aimed at reaching each of the elements under the Policies Commission statement of educational objectives?
 2. Which agencies include these elements as objectives, with no special program of work to reach them?
 3. Using the eleven educational needs and objectives of rural society as a guide, interview the officers or supervisors of a number of rural agencies or organizations to ascertain the extent that each group attempts to reach these objectives.
 4. What is the status of accomplishment in the basic skills today? Compare this with accomplishment when learning the basic skills was the center of curriculum emphasis.
 5. What plans have been effective in your state in developing an understanding of life and living outside of the local rural community?

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EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF THE SCHOOL

As rural society moved from the spread farming life to life with modern bridges and automobiles, so too the school. The philosophy underlying the school moved from one of dependence for an education of strict and practical powers necessary to one of an often theoretical layer, learning. Actually the shift in the philosophy of the rural school has changed only in respect to what citizens believe to be the essentials of learning. The professional rural educator has always recognized to be ahead of this change and does still see today as the rural schools move through various stages of the changing educational philosophies. Yet the bulk of rural leadership in education now places its emphasis on the community school.

THE ACADEMIC PHILOSOPHY

In 1880 the educational necessities for rural living were the basic readings, writing, dictating, and "how to do the land" upon which the philosophy of the school and its management were based. As the manufacturing industries and a rapidly developing began to have a major influence on rural life in the early twentieth century, the philosophy of education and the curriculum plans for schools began to change with it. It may have been a slow change in some of the very important educators (John Dewey, et al.) but it was significant.

CHAPTER 8

The Rural Community School

THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF THE SCHOOL

As rural society moved from the rugged frontier life to life with modern gadgets and accessories, so has the school. The philosophy undergirding the school moved from one of demands for an education of strict and practical present necessity to one of an often theoretical broad futurity. Actually the shift in the philosophy of the rural school has changed only in respect to what citizens believe to be the essentials of learning. The professional rural educator has always attempted to be abreast of this change and this is still true today as the rural schools move through various stages of the shifting educational philosophies. Yet the bulk of rural leadership in education now places its emphasis on the community school.

THE ACADEMIC PHILOSOPHY

In 1800 the educational necessities for rural living were the basic reading, writing, ciphering, and "Fear of the Lord," upon which the philosophy of the school and its curriculum were built. As our snow-balling industrial and scientific development began to have a direct influence on rural life in the early twentieth century, the philosophy of education and the curriculum ideas for schools began to change with it. It may have been a slow change in terms of the new visions of educators (John Dewey *et al.*) but it was recognizable.

THE PROGRESSIVE PHILOSOPHY

By 1935, the so-called progressive philosophy of education could be recognized as underlying many programs of rural education. The educational programs associated with 4-H Club work, homemaking clubs, the Future Farmers of America, and the Farm Home Administration strongly suggest a progressive philosophy behind their development. At the same time an even more significant progressivism was developing that can be identified in rural areas in the community school philosophy. Though incorporating some of the elements of the academic school, and much of the progressivists' recognition of the worth of the individual, it goes a step beyond and recognizes the significant elements involved in growing up in a particular social climate determined by the local community. From the local community to the greater regional, national, then international communities, the curriculum is designed in an effort to develop substantial citizens in a school life that is community-centered and socially responsive.

THE COMMUNITY PHILOSOPHY

It is not difficult to see the distinct movement from academic to progressive to community school philosophy in rural education. This change follows the necessities of the times in which they develop. It has moved from the giving of specifics to the development of citizenship, from the same instruction for each individual child to instruction that differs for each child, from rigid discipline of authority to discipline of responsibility, from storing knowledge for the future to developing patterns of action that are basic now and for the future.

The development of the community school and indication of its relationship to both the academic and progressive philosophies are pictured in the three graphs of Figure 27. It is well to note that each philosophy is on the ascendancy or decline during the time period when the other two are changing in proportion to the recognized needs of the times. The greatest influences of the academic philosophy in the rural curriculum existed from the development of public education until about 1910. The progressive influence reached its apex in rural schools during the 1930's, while the community school philosophy

became stronger during the past fifteen years, but still is not the leading philosophy in rural areas.

The conservative nature of rural society may in part be responsible for its comparative lag in acceptance of new educational theories. When compared to urban development, rural education seems considerably behind. Progressive education most certainly developed more

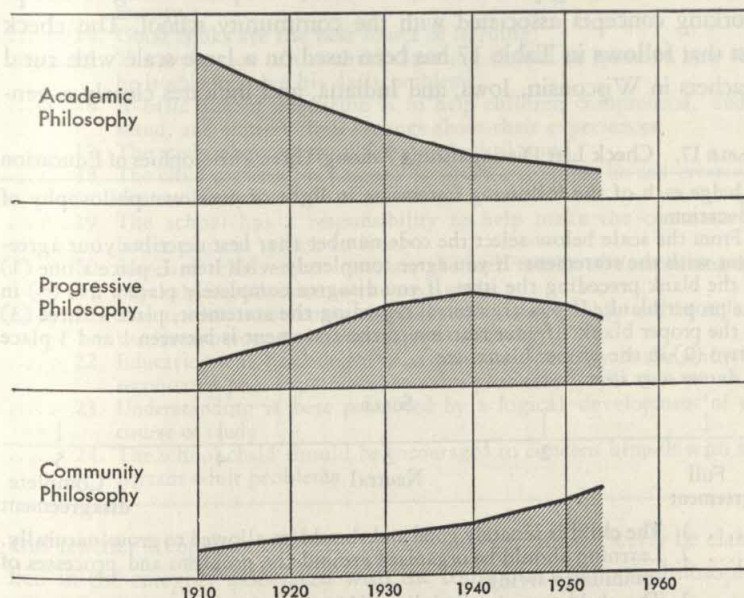


FIGURE 27. A Graphic Portrayal of the Rise and Decline of the Academic, Progressive, and Community Philosophies in Rural Education.

rapidly in an urban culture. The very nature of the new urban life of the early twentieth century made this possible. It is logical to assume that the community school philosophy would also be more readily accepted in cities, with the urban readiness to accept new ideas. However, since the concept of community is much stronger in rural society, as we have indicated, the full growth of the community school may be more suited to the rural than the urban culture. In the community philosophy, considerably more recognition is given to local adult responsibility and participation in school affairs. This responsibility and

participation is more acceptable to rural folks than was the progressive philosophy, since it is more in line with their own belief in the necessities of education, and possibly easier for them to achieve. Progressivism often seemed to be a fad to the farmer or village businessman, while consideration of the community approach is understandable to them.

Rural teachers who, in terms of professional preparation, are at the lower levels among professional educators, are quite willing to accept working concepts associated with the community school. The check list that follows in Table 17 has been used on a large scale with rural teachers in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Indiana, and indicates clearly a gen-

TABLE 17. Check List Distinguishing Among Three Philosophies of Education

Judge each of the following statements in light of your own philosophy of Education.

From the scale below select the code number that best describes your agreement with the statement. If you agree completely with Item 1, place a one (1) in the blank preceding the item. If you disagree completely place a five (5) in the proper blank. If you are neutral regarding the statement, place a three (3) in the proper blank. If your reaction to the statement is between 1 and 3 place a two (2) in the proper blank, etc.

Answer every item.

SCALE				
1	2	3	4	5
Full agreement		Neutral		Complete disagreement
..... 1.				
..... 2.				
..... 3.				
..... 4.				
..... 5.				
..... 6.				
..... 7.				
..... 8.				
..... 9.				
..... 10.				
..... 11.				
..... 12.				

TABLE 17. Check List Distinguishing Among Three Philosophies of Education
(Continued)

SCALE				
1	2	3	4	5
Full agreement		Neutral		Complete disagreement
..... 13.	School children should have a part in activities to improve the community.			
..... 14.	Good books are the best source of learning.			
..... 15.	The evaluation of the child's learning should be based on how well he is able to solve his daily problems.			
..... 16.	A basic aim of education is to help children comprehend, understand, and express their feelings about their experiences.			
..... 17.	The study of geometry develops a logical mind.			
..... 18.	The child realizes his best self in situations where he can creatively express himself.			
..... 19.	The school has a responsibility to help make the community a better place in which to live.			
..... 20.	Standard achievement tests are the best means of determining if a pupil should advance to the next grade.			
..... 21.	Any teacher must know the community thoroughly and be able to use its resources to be successful as a teacher.			
..... 22.	Education may be thought of as growth, especially in the ability to reconstruct past experiences to solve problems.			
..... 23.	Understanding is best promoted by a logical development of the course of study.			
..... 24.	The school child should be encouraged to concern himself with important adult problems.			

eral teacher acceptance of those items which can most clearly be classified in the category associated with the community school philosophy.

Although the check list asks for numbered responses, a scoring key distinguishes among the three philosophies. Items numbered 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, and 23 are academic in connotation. 1, 4, 7, 10, 15, 16, 18, and 22 are progressive. 2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 19, 21, and 24 are community-oriented. Total scores divided into these three categories give a specific picture of beliefs for the teacher completing the check list. The lower the score the higher values placed in that particular set of beliefs.

RECENT INTERPRETATIONS OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

There have been many recent interpretations and definitions of the community school philosophy. Among these, the ones presented by

Edward G. Olsen and Lloyd and Elaine Cook give the clearest pictures of present-day thinking about community schools in general. These two will be described briefly and the writer's approach to the community school philosophy as it related to rural education will be presented in some detail.

EDWARD G. OLSEN'S INTERPRETATION

Olsen presents six operating principles of the community school that clarify both his viewpoint of the community school philosophy and the relationships that he observes between his point of view, the older academic approach, and the recent and still strong progressive education.

The Community School seeks to:

1. Evolve its purposes out of the interests and needs of the people.
2. Utilize a wide variety of community resources in its program.
3. Practice and promote democracy in all activities of school and community.
4. Build the curriculum core around the major processes and problems of human living.
5. Exercise definite leadership in the planned and cooperative improvement of group living in the community and larger areas.
6. Enlist children and adults in cooperative group projects of common interest and mutual concern.

While the first three of these principles may be found also in the Progressive School, it is the latter three which most significantly distinguish the Community School from its immediate predecessor. For it is these latter three principles which together provide that constructive social orientation whose absence constituted the chief defect of progressive education during the first phase of its development.

Thus has our professional sense of values changed: the *academic school*, with its insistence upon book-knowledge-set-out-to-be-learned, gave way to the *progressive school* with its emphasis upon child-interests-to-be-expressed, which now in turn yields philosophic first place to the *community school* which stresses a human-needs-to-be-met viewpoint. From a book-centered, through a child-centered, and into a life-centered school,—this has been the progress of educational thought and experiment during these first four decades of the twentieth century.¹

¹ Edward G. Olsen, *School and Community*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945, p. 11.

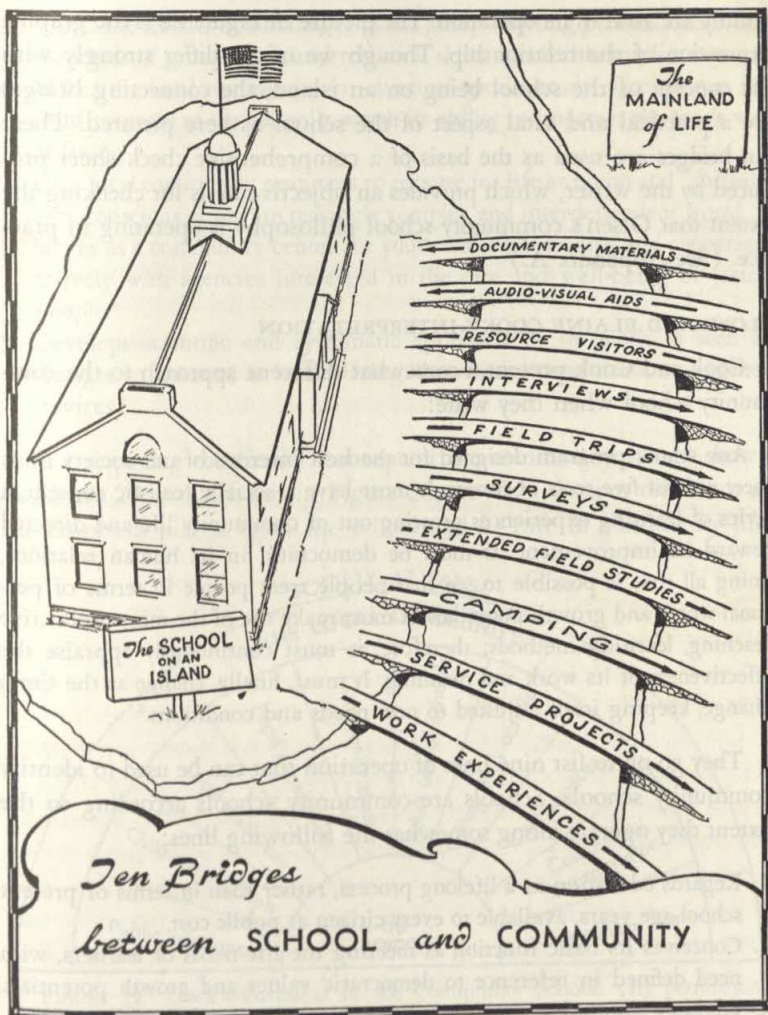


FIGURE 28. E. G. Olsen's Portrayal of the Community School. (From Edward G. Olsen *et al.*, *School and Community*. Copyright, 1945, by Prentice-Hall, Inc. New York. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

In the implementation of these principles the community school as seen by Olsen demands a steady interchange of activities and ideas between school and community. The community's knowledge of the school, and the school's (staff and students') knowledge of the com-

munity are vital in its operation. The picture in Figure 28 is the graphic expression of the relationship. Though we might differ strongly with the concept of the school being on an island, the connecting bridges are a practical and vital aspect of the school as here pictured. These ten bridges are used as the basis of a comprehensive check sheet produced by the writer, which provides an objective basis for checking the extent that Olsen's community school philosophy is operating in practice. (See Appendix A.)

LLOYD AND ELAINE COOK'S INTERPRETATION

Cook and Cook present a somewhat different approach to the community school when they write:

Any school program designed for the best interests of our society must meet at least five tests of fitness. It must have a socially realistic content, a series of learning experiences growing out of community life and directed toward its improvement. It must be democratic in its human relations, doing all that is possible to see that people treat people in terms of personal worth and growth potentials. It must make use of the most productive teaching, learning methods; therefore, it must continuously appraise the effectiveness of its work and planning. It must, finally, change as the times change, keeping itself adjusted to new needs and conditions.²

They go on to list nine lines of operation that can be used to identify community schools. Schools are community schools according to the extent they operate along somewhat the following lines:

1. Regards education as a lifelong process, rather than in terms of present school-age years, available to every citizen at public cost.
2. Conceives its basic function as meeting the life-needs of learners, with need defined in reference to democratic values and growth potentials.
3. Educates youth by providing experiences in the full range of life-activities, stressing especially the use of intelligence and group action in problem solving.
4. Conducts the school as a functional community, a democratic system of human relations in which every participant is valued and treated in terms of personal worth.

² Lloyd Allen Cook and Elaine Forsyth Cook, *A Sociological Approach to Education*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950, p. 272.

5. Views the teacher as a manager of the group learning process, exhibiting the kinds of group work and technical skills which this implies.
6. Makes the local community an object of special study, accepting as the chief measure of the school's worth its ability to improve the area's way of living.
7. Uses local community resources to educate for life at home and "abroad," ever conscious of our increasingly complex and interdependent world.
8. Serves as a community center for youth and adult groups and cooperates actively with agencies interested in the care and well-being of young people.
9. Develops scientific and systematic appraisals of its work as seen in changes in learners, in home living, community conditions, and agency services.³

In comparing the Cooks' concept of the community school shown in Figure 29 with Olsen's in Figure 28, we see a distinct difference in the emphasis placed upon the school and its role in community life.

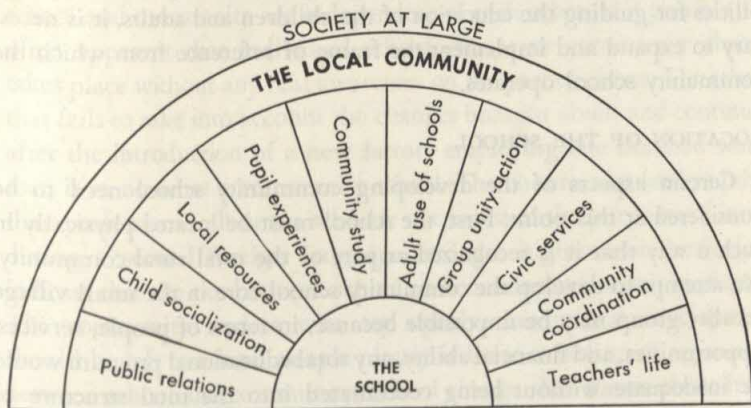


FIGURE 29. Cook's Portrayal of the Community School. (By permission from *A Sociological Approach to Education*, 2d ed., by Lloyd Allen Cook and Elaine Forsyth Cook. Copyright, 1950, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.)

While Olsen pictures the school on an island and attached to the community by bridges, the Cooks have the school pictured as the very core of the community, with all school and community activities tied together in a close relationship with it. However, both represent the

³ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

school as the total educational force of the community although in both cases the influence of lesser educational agencies is recognized.

THE COÖRDINATED SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

The one concept of the community school which is emerging from the combinations of ideas brought out and developed during the past two decades is that of a school and community coördinated in structure and process. It is all that Olsen and the Cooks indicate and more. It is emerging because communities and their educational resources are being coördinated in new ways for new and expanding purposes. The rural community school is the trial ground for these new developments and has now produced numerous examples of this coördination in nearly every rural state. When the functions of the rural schools were limited, they were in agreement with the pattern described in the past literature of the community school. As more and more is expected of the school, and as the school accepts greater and greater responsibilities for guiding the education of the children and adults, it is necessary to expand and implement the frame of reference from which the community school operates.

LOCATION OF THE SCHOOL

Certain aspects of the developing community school need to be considered at this point. First, the school must be located physically in such a way that it is recognized as part of the total rural community. An attempt to develop the community school core in the small village locality group may be impossible because, in terms of people, services, opportunities, and financial ability, any total educational program would be inadequate without being coördinated into the total structure of the larger community area of which it is a part. This does not mean that this particular small locality group should not have a school but rather that, if it does, it should be recognized both functionally and administratively as part of a larger and more complete sociological grouping of people and services. Likewise the county educational administrative unit is not likely to encourage the development of any strong community school program unless the central administration leaves the major responsibility for curriculum improvement and total

school-community relationships to the several individual communities. The rural community school that cannot develop freely because part of the administration, which lies outside the community, has too many rules, regulations, and directives, finds it just as difficult to become one with the community as the small village locality group that attempts to go along on its own without any real administrative tie with the total rural community of which it is a part. The significant administrative and physical structure of the community school must be within the rural community itself. The number of schools within the community is not the significant factor. The fact that they are coordinated with the structure and process of community living is the basic criterion upon which to evaluate their position.

PRESSURES FOR SCHOOL CHANGE

The second consideration in the developing rural community school is the source and recognition of the pressures for school change. When school and community are independent of each other, it is possible and often apparent that individual school change or community change takes place without any real awareness on the part of either. The school that fails to take into account the changes brought about and continued after the introduction of a new factory employing one hundred workmen is in no sense a community school. The community leaders other than professional educators who are not aware of the purposes of introducing a second foreign language into the high-school curriculum indicate that the ties between school and community are left to chance. The community leaders who say openly that school development should be left to school people clearly indicate a feeling of separation between school and community. School change that comes about from the leadership pressures of the county unit, intermediate district, or even state department of public instruction can occur within the framework of the community school if their source and purposes are understood by the leadership core and citizens of the rural community.

Even for schools far from the ideal in school-community coordination, it has become apparent that the most effective changes in the school occur upon the demands of community citizens. Administrators are time after time told, "Take your community along with you," "The

best way to get a good building is to get a lay building committee busy on the job," "Keep the public informed," "Have advisory committees appointed for each attendance unit," and "Bring your school problems to the people." These methods have proved effective even when injected into schools operating with little school-community coördination. Actually, they provide beginnings in the types of activities that seem automatic when the school is an integral part of community life.

In a community school the source of pressure for school development is the community itself. It is the core of leaders representing the community who first recognize the need for change and educate their particular segment of the community to evaluate proposed changes designed to meet the new demands of a changing society. This is not a formal type of leader-see, follower-do organization, but rather the integration of the citizenry to community responsibility through total understanding. The role of the school in a community then becomes more and more significant, not as the recognized light of all community progress, but as the one agency that reaches everyone and where everyone reciprocates in responsibility.

LEARNING IN THE TOTAL COMMUNITY SETTING

The third important aspect of community-school coördination is the recognition on the part of the citizen public that learning is occurring in the total setting of the community and not in the school alone. The influence of all educational agencies is one which is never adequately evaluated immediately following the learning process, yet the delayed action of our total educational system is often overlooked as we try to observe the effectiveness of any one agency.

The maturing child's contacts with learning situations are many and varied, and the multitude of factors associated with his learning and preparation for maturity are almost beyond the possibility of identification. It is particularly significant that the school recognize this total opportunity for maturity and work with others in establishing new and comprehensive settings for child and adult growth. The role of the school in promoting summer music concerts, in organizing the rural art shows, in participating earnestly in community development programs, is real indication of this recognition. A reciprocating recognition

of other agencies is also necessary when the community school develops sufficiently to merit its own recognition. The businessmen's organization that turns to the school for aid in its effort to understand new government business regulations, the Junior Soil Conservation Club which invites the teacher of agriculture and the science teacher to serve as consultants when it plans its program of work, and the rural minister and his ladies' guild who confer with the home economics teacher regarding the refurnishing of the parsonage are all indicating an awareness of both their own and the school's job in total education for young and old.

It is when this recognition of each other is beyond the stage of cooperation for coöperation's sake that the community school can be called mature.

SCHOOL COÖPERATION WITH OTHER EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

The fourth aspect of the developing community school is the acceptance on the part of educators of the necessity for them to be prime movers in getting communities from where they are to where they ought to be. The school person in the best position to make progress in this direction is the administrator. Even here, however, it is the teacher who will be closer to the actual operation of newly acquired tasks. It is well to remember that in the initial stages of educational cooperation promoted by the school, the school will be carrying the greatest load in terms of effort expended to make the venture a success. The interagency coöperation encouraged by Olsen and the Cooks covers this important aspect of a developing community school. As basic as this coöperation is, it is only the first step in the development of real inter-agency coördination.

The leadership function in any educational agency must be concerned with the total educational goals of society and develop an awareness of the great community contributions possible in coördinated educational action. Until this is the case, the operating level as pictured in Figure 30 cannot be accomplished. Although deliberate coöperation with other agencies is as significant a first step as could be wished for, the deliberate coöperation of the core of leaders in a community on educational matters may be more productive. This leader coöperation

in educational thinking and planning will be a natural outcome of the community school once it is accepted, but until that time deliberate efforts need to be made to coöperate and coördinate. The leaders of any rural educational agency could well afford to be the ones responsible for beginning this growth, since improvement in the total education of a rural community will be beneficial to all.

THE POSITION OF THE SCHOOL IN THE COMMUNITY'S EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

The final aspect of a coördinated school and community is a structural and operational maturity that is shown in the process of education as it is developed by the school. It can never be described in a "do this, don't do that" kind of atmosphere, but must be more in terms of faith among community educational agencies and recognition of the contributions of each. This cannot be accomplished by placing the school in the center of everything and assuming that all other agencies revolve thereabout. It can be better accomplished by the integration of schools with other groups in the leadership core that guides community action. Figure 30 shows one of a series of pictures that could be designed to show the role of any educational agency in community life. In all pictures the core of community leaders would remain the same while the segments extending from the leadership core would change in line with the differing characteristics of each agency.

It should be noted in Figure 30 that many of these characteristics of a community school are similar to those previously described by Olsen and by Cook and Cook. The real difference in the concepts of the community school is in the position of the school in relation to other agencies. Looking at Figure 30, it is readily recognized that the teachers in a school of this kind must be constantly alert to their new position in the community's total educational program. The concept expressed in the statement "The classroom is the community" will not be accepted to an equal degree by all teachers should a rural community's schools move toward the philosophy described. Similarly no two schools may be alike in the degree to which they approach this structure. The examples given in terms of the teachers being a part of community life will vary greatly. In this example, the teacher is a

trustee of the community library. In another community a teacher may be on the village council, while in another community school no teacher holds an official position of this kind, but it is recognized by all that a teacher could hold a position and perhaps sometime will.

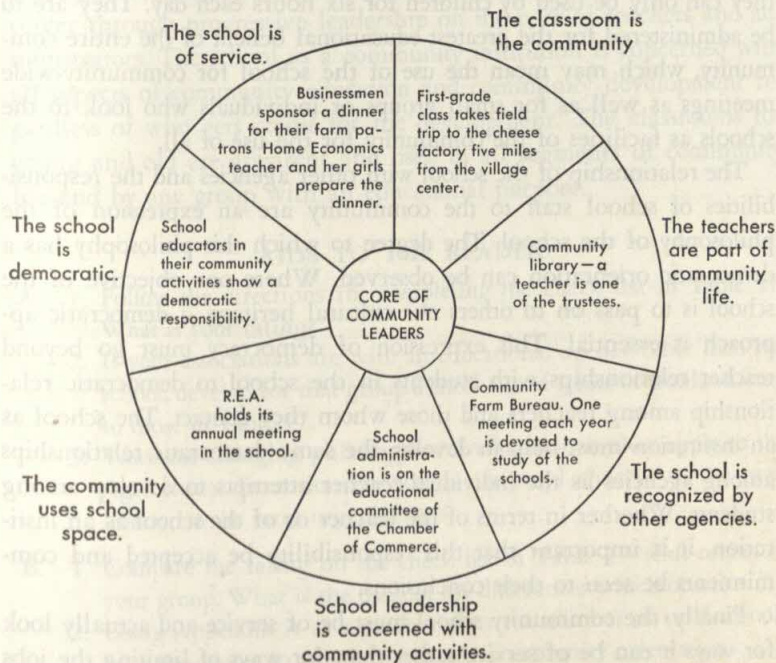


FIGURE 30. The Community School as an Institution of the Total Community.

The recognition of the school by other agencies can also be expressed in many ways. Some expressions are direct, as in the example of a Farm Bureau meeting devoted to a study of the schools. Other expressions are more subtle, more in the attitude than the action stage.

The school leadership's concern with the community activities as a whole is a must in the community school. It is not a superintendent or principal alone who supply school leadership. There are school leadership roles available for all the school staff, and this should be encouraged and recognized by all from the newest teacher to the janitor near retirement. School people should be concerned with education

during more than the six hours from nine to twelve and one to four.

The physical facilities of the school too are the community's facilities. Though they are to be administered by the school administrator in a community school, they are not to be guarded in such a way that they can only be used by children for six hours each day. They are to be administered for the greatest educational benefit of the entire community, which may mean the use of the school for community-wide meetings as well as for small groups or individuals who look to the schools as facilities of the community for the use of all.

The relationship of the school with other agencies and the responsibilities of school staff to the community are an expression of the philosophy of the school. The degree to which this philosophy has a democratic orientation can be observed. Where one objective of the school is to pass on to others our cultural heritage, a democratic approach is essential. This expression of democracy must go beyond teacher relationships with students in the school to democratic relationship among teachers and those whom they contact. The school as an institution must help to develop the same democratic relationships among agencies as the individual teacher attempts to develop among students. Whether in terms of the teacher or of the school as an institution, it is important that this responsibility be accepted and commitments be seen to their conclusions.

Finally, the community school must be of service and actually look for ways it can be of service rather than for ways of limiting the jobs it should do. In the sense of a community school as pictured in Figure 30, the services asked of the school would be those considered and requested after formal and informal study by responsible persons and groups. This is an important assignment for the core of community leaders who are in a position to see the total educational needs of a community and the various agencies that can best meet those needs.

It is important to keep in mind that educational agencies other than the school are dedicated to many of these functions and activities that school people once thought were theirs alone. A valid distribution of educational services can be accomplished only through coordination on a community basis. The integration of all the educational institutions and agencies through a cooperating core of community leaders is the

most important element in a community philosophy. A community-centered action program on the part of schools or any other educational group is but an outcome of that philosophy.

The school as pictured here is but one part of the total community. It may be the center of community activities or it may be related to the center through progressive leadership on the part of teachers and administrators. The school as a community institution is concerned with all aspects of community education and community development regardless of who gets credit for the development. The classrooms for young and old are apparent and used in all segments of community life and by any group with an educational purpose.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Follow the directions for completing the check list in Table 17. What is your rating?
 2. If your associations are with an educational agency other than the school, develop for that group a check list of items of similar nature to those in Table 17.
 3. Trace the changing philosophies of education as they apply to the Agricultural Extension Service; to the rural church; to the rural library; to the farm organizations.
- B.
 1. Compare the rating on the check list in Table 17 with others in your group. What is the basis of the differences which occur?
 2. Using Appendix A as a guide, compare a number of rural schools as to the degree to which they have a community orientation.
 3. Describe a situation where school and community agencies are well coördinated. What factors aided in the development of this coördination? What was the role of each agency in promoting coördination?
 4. Develop a number of figures similar to Figure 30 but differing as to the agency being described. Example: The Farm Bureau as an Institution of the Total Community.
 5. What are the implications for the school child of the changes in educational philosophies? for present-day adults?

CHAPTER 9

School District Reorganization

SCHOOL DISTRICTS

CHANGING FUNCTION

The backbone of the organized school program of a community is the school district. The strength of the school district determines to a considerable degree the educational load which can be carried in a particular neighborhood, community, county, or state. It has been pointed out previously that the school district system of the United States was established to meet the needs for schooling as they were seen in frontier days. The educational responsibilities now delegated to or assumed by the schools makes it imperative that the district has the strength to meet these demands and that it be organized to meet educational needs for today.

Society operates its schools in order to provide its boys and girls—and often, adults—with an education that will help them meet and solve the problems of daily living. It gives a lot of thought to the school itself. But often it takes for granted that which is always important and sometimes vitally necessary to the welfare of the school: the school district.

INEQUALITIES AMONG SCHOOL DISTRICTS

School districts are units of local government that can tax property to support schools. When a school district does not do all we want it to do to achieve the best possible school, we wonder what can be done.

We know something is wrong when we see great inequalities in the kind and quality of educational opportunities provided in districts of the same community or county. We often see rich schools next door to poor schools with no opportunity within the district structures to equalize the opportunities of the children attending the schools. We see crowded schools next to schools that have too few pupils to challenge the teacher. We can observe communities where the school opportunities for the village children outweigh those for farm children.

In schools standing almost side by side, but in different districts, we can see great differences. *In one we will find the district providing:*

Well-trained teachers who love their job.

Comfortable classrooms with adequate heat, ventilation, and sanitary facilities.

A generous supply of books for classes and library.

Special help for physically and mentally handicapped boys and girls.

Up-to-date materials to help the teacher teach:

Movie projector and films.

Slide projector and slides.

Up-to-date maps.

Record player and piano for training in music.

Special help and supervision in art, music, physical education.

Space for healthy play.

Equipment for sports and games.

A chance for children to be with others of their own age.

Yearly physical and dental examinations.

Classes for adults (homemaking, agriculture, art, music).

In the other we will find:

Teachers with little interest in or training for their job.

Classrooms without good lighting, heating, or ventilation.

A library that averages less than 25 books for each grade.

Few materials to help the teacher in her teaching.

No special help for handicapped children.

No supervision or help for teachers of art and music.

A school located on the least desirable land in the community, with little playground space.

Very little equipment for sports.

Only one or two children in each grade.

Children in need of medical or dental care, with no program to help find out who they are.

Little use made of the school by adults of the community.

When such inequalities are so consistently evident throughout the United States, it is not difficult to understand why most thinking citizens have been seeking an answer to the question of providing modern school opportunities for all.

REORGANIZATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Reorganization of school districts is often one of the answers to this problem. Reorganization is a move to put our educational house in order. In some cases, it simply means that two or more school districts get together, join up and pool their resources in order to operate as one district, for purposes of providing a better educational program more efficiently. Reorganization of school districts has been recognized as an effective means of strengthening school district structure for many years, yet its progress in the early history of the United States was slow and it has only been increasing steadily in the last two decades. Even so, the opportunities for further strengthening of district structure are recognized when we realize that there are 61,247 operating one-room school districts in the United States, and 8,930 high schools with less than 100 pupils enrolled.¹

Rural people will change ways of doing things when they are convinced that the new ways are better. The change from horses to tractors, from straight farrow to contour strips, the change in buying and selling habits are all indications of a changed structure that is in line with developing functions of the twentieth century. It indicates that, when rural people see clearly the functions of a modern educational program, it too will be provided.

Though any realignment of school districts could be called reorganization, the consideration in this chapter will be in terms of reorganization on the basis of the rural community, which is the key sociological element in the community school philosophy previously presented.

It should be remembered throughout that other types of reorganiza-

¹ National Society for the Study of Education, *The Fifty-First Yearbook, Part II: Education in Rural Communities*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, p. 94.

tion are possible. Certainly the county unit system prevalent in the twelve states, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Mexico, North Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, and West Virginia can not be overlooked. Even within the framework of the community school philosophy, the county unit structure could be used. In the case of the county unit states, the various communities within the county would necessarily be the high-school attendance centers, with elementary units either centralized or on a neighborhood or small locality group basis within the substructure of the community. The intermediate unit of school organization which has gained much attention and encouragement the past few years is likewise not in philosophic or practical opposition to the community school. The intermediate unit is one with a coordinating or service function between local community and the state or between several cooperating community units. In New York State this development has progressed far enough to show that its greatest early effectiveness is in the provision of such services that community units are themselves unable to provide, services effective in the fields of school-nurse-teacher, attendance supervisor, dental hygienist, and teachers of special subjects. Thus the evidence in New York supports a functional intermediate unit.²

The very small district reorganization that occurs with several neighborhoods joining their one-room districts so a two-, three- or four-room elementary unit can be established is likewise a step toward a better educational program. The small village locality group that may be a part of the substructure of a large rural community, yet unwilling to reorganize with it on a total community basis, may complete a reorganization of its own. If this includes grades 1-12 and is still undersized in terms of pupil numbers, the educator may look at it as an undesirable reorganization. It may be that, but if education is improved in the process, regardless of how minute that improvement is, it should be recognized. We may well question such a reorganization on both a theoretical and practical basis, yet school improvement of any kind is desirable for neighborhood, small village locality group, or total rural community.

It has been claimed that educators' ideals and standards for reorgani-

² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

zation of school districts are often so high that reorganization on a community basis cannot meet them.³ Particular consideration is often given to Dawson's statement that "the satisfactory administrative unit should have at least 1,200 pupils between the ages of six and eighteen. If it has a much smaller number, it can afford a good program only at great cost per pupil. The more pupils it has up to 10,000 the broader the program it can afford at reasonable cost."⁴

Regardless of what recommendations are made by educators, State Departments of Public Instruction or legislatures the fact remains that the size of rural communities varies greatly and no single recommendation can be used. The wealthy community with a village center of 700 people and surrounding farm population of 1500 may be better able to support a school of 600 students (K-12) than a financially poor community of 4000 farm and village residents and a school population of 1200 students (K-12). It is necessary to consider per pupil costs and pupil enrollment when looking at school reorganization, but it is also necessary to look at the sociological structure of the community. Several proposals for reorganizing a community's school will be considered, with the advantages and disadvantages of each proposal.

A common frame of reference in considering reorganization is provided in Figure 31, which shows a typical Midwest rural community with its various school districts before reorganization occurs. (See also Table 18.) The advantages and disadvantages of maintaining this frontier type of school structure will be considered. Figure 32 will indicate a partial type of reorganization which actually separates the high school from the elementary school by reorganizing the high school as an independent unit. Although this type of reorganization is recommended by few educators, it does provide a compromise in areas with particularly vigorous resistance to changing the one-room school district structure. Figures 33, 34, 35, and 36 show four ways of complete community reorganization in different stages in the changing of the attendance units. Though these may be considered as changes toward centralization, this is not necessarily so. A considerable number of reorganized school districts where community, neighborhood, and

³ David E. Lindstrom, "The Rural Community and School District Reorganization," *Rural Sociology*, June, 1952, pp. 171-172.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

small village locality group loyalties are carefully considered are tending to direct their efforts to the type of attendance unit grouping in Figure 35 where the grades 7-12 are in the central school and K-6 or 1-6 in the smaller 3-6 room attendance centers.

TABLE 18. The Tax Rate and the Number of Pupils to be Served in Each of the School Districts Shown in Figure 31

School Districts	Equalized Evaluation	Elementary Pupils	Tax Rate in Mills
1	\$ 250,000	21	7
2	300,000	20	6
3	200,000	17	10
4	250,000	8	5
5	200,000	40	10
6	350,000	18	7
7	200,000	50	17
8	200,000	13	9
9	400,000	14	5
10	250,000	14	9
11	200,000	25	10
12	300,000	30	8
13	250,000	6	8
14	350,000	22	7
15	1,000,000	40	6
16	500,000	25	5
17	400,000	15	6
18	400,000	25	7
19	350,000	10	7
20	400,000	40	11
21	350,000	28	5
22	700,000	42	6
Village			
Elementary and high school	2,200,000	127	21
		650 Grade-school pupils	
		300 High-school pupils	
Total	\$10,000,000	950	

Figure 37 provides a picture of a county unit type of reorganization where the community used as an example is one of several communities in the same county district.

In pursuing the possible plans for school organization, it is important that the advantages and disadvantages that are listed are considered only as possibilities. Strong educational leadership and good teachers in any organization can do much to improve education. The

deliberate attempt to show advantages and disadvantages brings into focus the most prominent strengths and weaknesses of the various plans. They must always be considered in terms of the concern for education in each local community.

TRADITIONAL ORGANIZATION

Figure 31 shows a typical Midwestern community before school district reorganization. Note that there are 22 open country rural school districts. The village has its own district providing grade school and

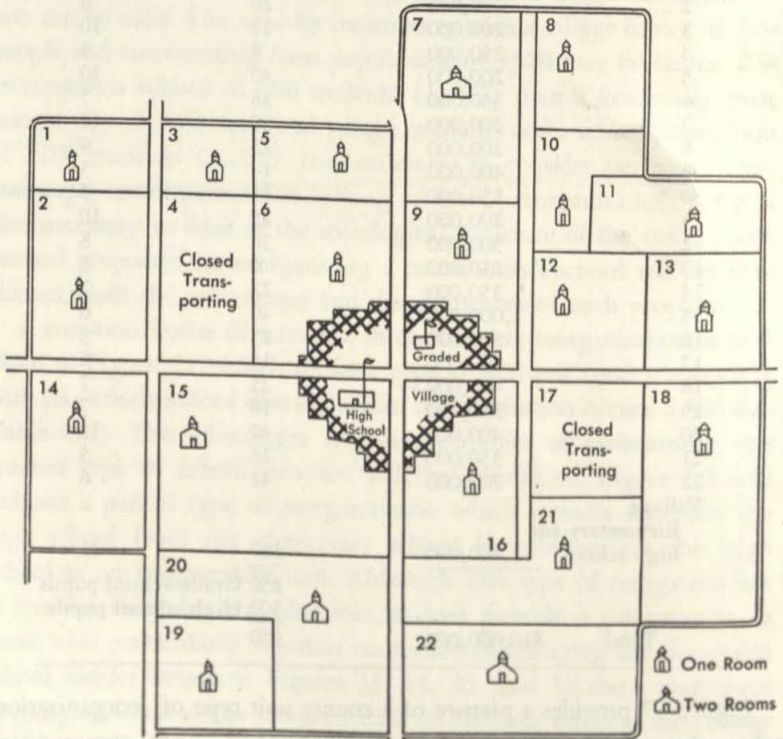


FIGURE 31. A Midwest Community and Its School Districts.

high school. Rural schools include grades one through eight. Farmers are taxed to pay "tuition" for farm students attending high school. What are the advantages and disadvantages of keeping the traditional school organization in Figure 31?

The advantages of maintaining the traditional organization are:

1. Students in Grades 1 to 8 live within walking distance of their school.
2. Parents take pride in "their school." Perhaps they attended themselves.
3. Teacher and students can work together closely. One teacher has the same students for several grades.
4. Older children learn to help younger ones in the classroom.
5. Everybody in the district knows the school board members.
6. The one-room school is a neighborhood social center.
7. Several children in a family will be in the same classroom, making it easier for beginners.
8. The local school board is solely responsible for the operation of the school and hires the teacher.

The disadvantages in keeping the old organization are:

1. Different districts do not make the same effort to support education.
2. If a good educational program is developed in districts with fewer than twenty students, per pupil costs will be very high.
3. The number of pupils per teacher varies from too few to too many. It is impossible to balance the teacher's pupil load.
4. A *complete* educational program is not likely in districts with only a few pupils per grade. Providing for an adequate program for handicapped children is especially difficult.
5. Farm children have few contacts with children of their own age, and with children from other parts of the community.
6. There is little opportunity for obtaining good or sufficient supervisory and administrative leadership, and it is difficult to obtain and keep good teachers.
7. Districts not operating schools can "get by" with a minimum effort. A district with only ten school-age children may transport them to town, pay tuition, and "get by" with a very low tax rate.
8. There is little chance for children and parents to identify themselves with the total community. Families live within their neighborhoods; children and young people miss the opportunities of broader contacts.
9. The high-school district does not have a sufficient tax base to allow for an adequate building program, and the farmer has no voice in the operation of the high schools.

REORGANIZING GRADES 9-12

In the case pictured in Figure 32, the community's original 22 school districts remain as before. The high-school district, however,

is enlarged to include all farm areas. Farmers retain their local grade-school districts. The advantages of this plan are:

1. Gives the farm people a voice in the operation of the high school.
2. Relieves the rural people from paying county tuition and transportation cost of the district after the first year of operation.

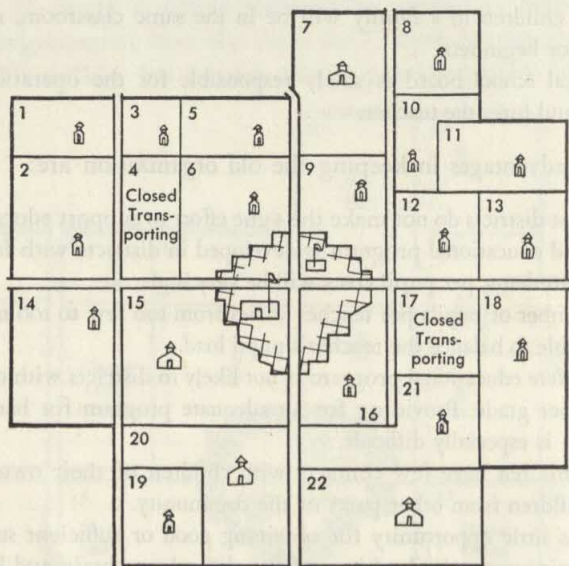


FIGURE 32. Reorganizing the Community for Grades 9 to 12. Rural Districts Serving Grades 1 to 8 Do Not Change.

3. Eliminates the competition of other high schools trying to establish bus routes in the area.
4. Bus routes can be established for the best service rather than for the purpose of competing with other high schools.
5. Provides a larger assessed evaluation for the high-school district, thus allowing for adequate building loans if they are needed.
6. Does not disturb the rural school districts of the area. The high school has a separate board of education.
7. Children in grades 1-8 will not be affected by this change. The one-room school board is maintained.

The disadvantages of this plan are:

1. The reorganization is for only high-school grades. Nothing is done to help grades 1-8 in the one- and two-room schools.
2. It prevents a single board of education from planning a complete educational program from grade 1 through grade 12.
3. Rural citizens of the community will be in two school districts, each with separate taxing and borrowing power.
4. The communities organized on the basis of an independent high-school district plus a number of independent grade districts may not qualify for the highest state aids.
5. The high-school transportation system is planned separately from that of grades 1-8. Rural grade schools will have to make their own arrangements for transportation.
6. Different elementary districts will have no easy way of equalizing their tax load or the number of children for each teacher.
7. The opportunity to provide special services and opportunities to the children in grades 1-8 is as limited as it was before the change. This type of reorganization does nothing for eight of the twelve grades in a community.

REORGANIZATION OF ONLY THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

In Figure 33 we find a single district replacing the former 22 school districts. The tax rates are equalized and costs of school improvements are shared. Farm areas are now part of the *community* school district, but no change is made in any of the attendance units. The advantages of this system are:

1. School taxes can be partially equalized and the tax base made large enough to supply adequate buildings when needed.
2. Supplies and facilities can be more uniform from school to school. Buying large quantities can reduce costs, leading to savings.
3. Special services can be provided for all schools. (Art and music teachers can go from school to school. A school health program can be developed by a district nurse. Provision can be made for handicapped children.)
4. The friendly neighborhood ties of the old district are kept.
5. No additions or new buildings are necessary.
6. Farmers of the district will have an official voice in the operation of the high school.

7. The school board can be selected from the best educational leadership in the total community.

The disadvantages of this system are:

1. Many of the one-room schools may still have too small an enrollment to operate efficiently.

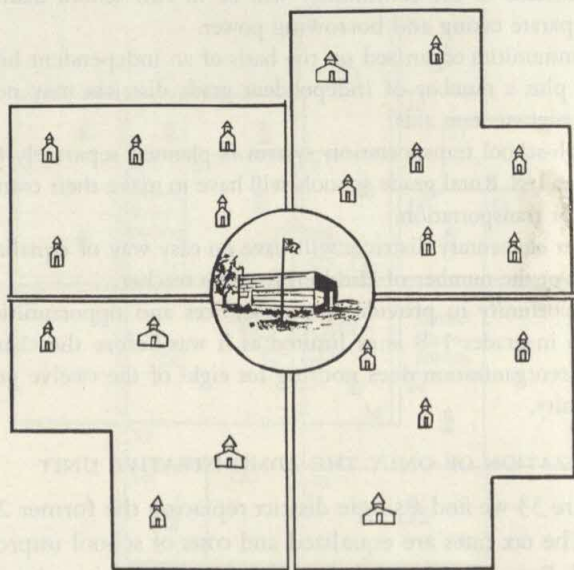


FIGURE 33. Reorganizing the Community School Districts but Keeping Schools and Attendance Areas as Before—Rural Grades 1 to 8 in Farm Areas.

2. Many former school board members may feel that they have lost their voice in the operation of the schools.
3. Farm children would still have few contacts with children of their own age.
4. Farm children would still have few contacts with children from other parts of the total community.
5. Former board members no longer hire local teachers.
6. A modern educational program would require new buildings to house up-to-date equipment.
7. Special services to the one-room schools would be inefficient if only a few pupils attended each school.

REORGANIZING ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS WITH MINOR ATTENDANCE-UNIT CHANGES

In Figure 34 the open country schools include grades 1-8. The village school has grades 1-8 and the high school which both village and farm children attend. Reorganization is as one single district, with 12

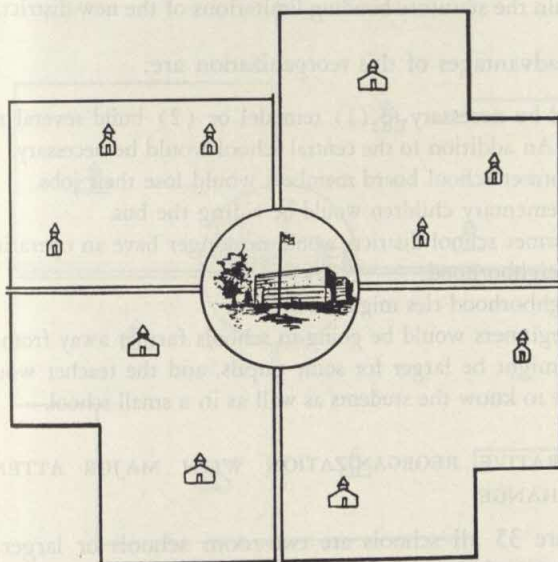


FIGURE 34. Reorganizing the Community School Districts but Keeping Some One-Room Schools and Enlarging and Improving Others.

schools closed. The remaining 11 schools equalize the number of pupils per teacher and permit a saving on improvements. Some farm school children are transported by bus, either to the village or a nearby rural school. The advantages of this reorganization are:

1. Taxes will be equalized on a community basis.
2. Better facilities can be offered in each school, and better supervision of teachers is possible.
3. Supplies can be purchased at a saving through quantity buying.
4. Special services can be used more efficiently where more children are

in the same building. Handicapped children can be cared for in a special room of the village school.

5. The high school will be a part of the total community—not supported by the village alone.
6. Children will be working with others of their own age.
7. The number of children per teacher will be more evenly balanced.
8. Old buildings could be replaced, and adequate buildings would be possible within the statutory bonding limitations of the new district.

The disadvantages of this reorganization are:

1. It would be necessary to (1) remodel or (2) build several new rural schools. An addition to the central school would be necessary.
2. Many former school board members would lose their jobs.
3. Some elementary children would be riding the bus.
4. Some former school districts would no longer have an operating school in the neighborhood.
5. Old neighborhood ties might be broken.
6. Some beginners would be going to schools farther away from home.
7. Classes might be larger for some pupils, and the teacher wouldn't get a chance to know the students as well as in a small school.

ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION WITH MAJOR ATTENDANCE-UNIT CHANGE

In Figure 35 all schools are two-room schools or larger, serving rural grades 1–6. Farm seventh- and eighth-grade children and high-school pupils are transported to the village center. Here the single community school district has closed all its one-room schools. Schools of two rooms or larger have been retained, and additional buildings provided in the open country. The advantages of this reorganization are:

1. Teachers won't have to teach so many grades.
2. Farm children will have broader social contacts.
3. The seventh and eighth graders have the advantage of getting acquainted with the central school before they enter high school.
4. The older seventh and eighth graders will be with other adolescents and the smaller children will not be disturbed by their presence.
5. More consideration of the total community in the classroom is possible.

6. Services, equipment, and supervision can be efficiently operated.
7. The community tax levy will be equalized for school purposes, and the tax base will allow for an adequate building program.
8. The farm-village relationships will improve as farmers and villagers work together on education, and as both have a voice in the operation of the grade schools and high schools.

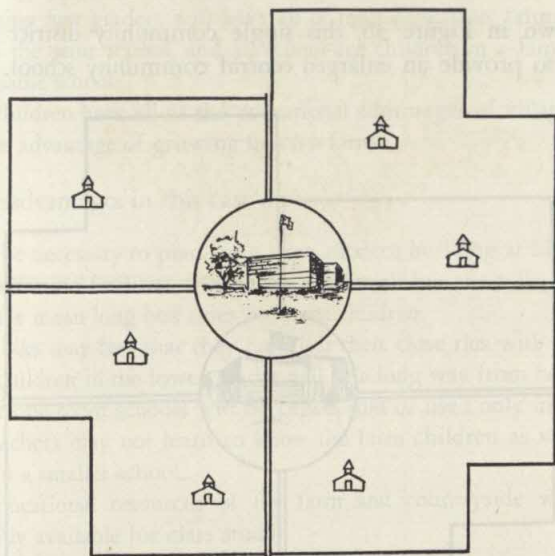


FIGURE 35. Reorganizing the Community School Districts and Developing Six Attendance Centers in the Farm Area.

The disadvantages here are:

1. An extensive building program will be needed.
2. Nearly all children will have to be transported. Transportation costs may be high.
3. The one-room school as a neighborhood center may be lost.
4. Many school board members will feel that they have lost control of the local school.
5. Taxes will sometimes go up if a better educational program is provided.
6. The parents will not live near enough to school to permit the teacher to become as well acquainted with them as before.

7. Farm parents may not take as active an interest in a school which is outside of the local neighborhood.
8. The seventh and eighth graders will no longer be able to help younger children as they do in rural schools or grade 1-8. This may have been a fine experience for them.

REORGANIZATION WITH A SINGLE ATTENDANCE UNIT

As shown in Figure 36, this single community district pools its resources to provide an enlarged central community school. All boys

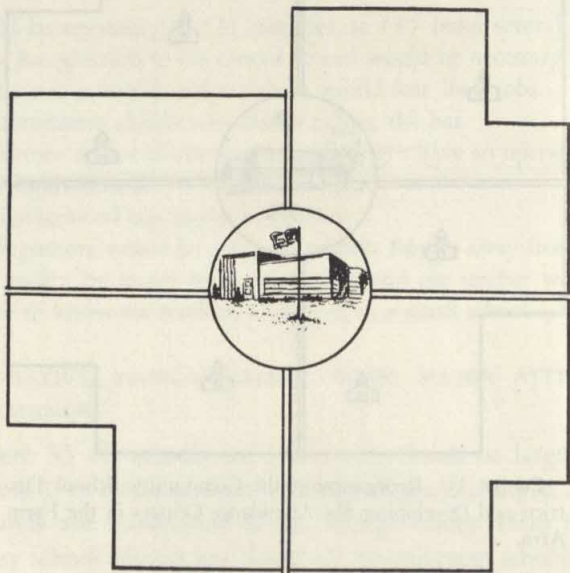


FIGURE 36. Reorganizing the Community School District and Transporting All Children to the Village Center.

and girls from first grade through high school—including those on farms—attend school in town. Facilities and school equipment are used to best advantage. The school has become a valuable community center. The advantages in this case are:

1. A teacher will devote her full time to one grade, thus making it easier to obtain and keep first rate teachers.
2. All facilities and services can be used more efficiently.

3. Both farm and village children will have broad social contacts with children of their own age.
4. One school will represent the total community.
5. A school plant, superior to any which could be built by the former districts, can be developed.
6. The central school will supply a common meeting place for both farm and village folk.
7. Beginning first graders will have all of their education (through grade 12) in the same school, and all school-age children in a family will be in the same school.
8. Farm children have all of the educational advantages of village children plus the advantage of growing up on a farm.

The disadvantages in this case are:

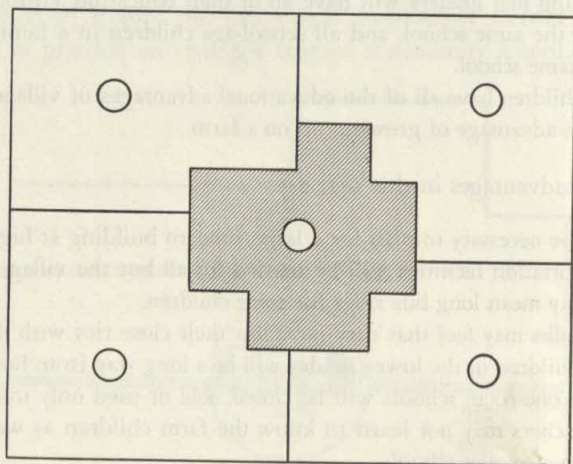
1. It will be necessary to plan for a large, modern building at high cost.
2. Transportation facilities will be needed for all but the village children. This may mean long bus rides for some children.
3. Farm folks may feel that they have lost their close ties with the school.
4. Many children in the lower grades will be a long way from home.
5. Former one-room schools will be closed, sold or used only infrequently.
6. The teachers may not learn to know the farm children as well as they could in a smaller school.
7. The educational resources of the farm and countryside will not be as readily available for class study.

COUNTY-WIDE REORGANIZATION

In Figure 37 the county is one single school district. In this case, there are five high-school attendance areas under the administration of one district superintendent. There is an additional administrator for each community attendance unit. The changes in elementary attendance units could follow any of the plans previously presented in Figures 33 through 36. The advantages of the county unit plan are:

1. The county usually has sufficient resources to offer a comprehensive education from kindergarten through adult programs.
2. Special services, supervisors, and specialists, requiring coöperation among the communities, can be readily obtained and supervised.
3. Quantity buying is made easy and adds to the efficiency of the school.

4. It is easier to obtain a competent staff of teachers and superior administrative leaders.
5. The program can be financed with maximum equality among communities.
6. Attendance units can be developed to best fit the several communities and this can be accomplished without undue conflict over students in the areas midway between communities.



Shaded area: High School Attendance Area
for Pictured Community

FIGURE 37. Reorganization on the County Unit Plan,
Showing the Typical Community as One of Five in a
County.

7. The most competent and interested citizens of the entire county will be selected for school board office, thus encouraging a more desirable educational program.

The disadvantages of the county unit plan are:

1. School control will appear to have moved from the proximity of the local family.
2. Communities that have made special efforts to improve their schools will be grouped with those which may only have tried to get by.
3. Community control of the school may be partially lost to the larger county unit, and thus make it more difficult to develop a strong community school loyalty.

4. A modern educational program on a county-wide basis would require considerable initial expense for new buildings, facilities and equipment.
5. Community citizens may not take as active a part in school affairs that originate at the county level.
6. The bigness of the administrative unit may lead to an unwieldy structure riddled with "red tape."

COMMUNITY FACTORS IMPEDING SCHOOL REORGANIZATION

Reorganizing schools from what they are to what they should be is not an easy task, regardless of the present status of the school organization. Certain traditional aspects of rural society give rise to difficulties in changing the schools. Some of these factors were considered when the rural community was described in chapters 4 and 5. Though there has been considerable changing to larger districts, the factors resisting change still exist and will continue to exist for years. It cannot be assumed that once a community reorganizes its schools, the final step toward school improvement has been made. On the contrary, it may only indicate an initial step. However, the factors resisting that initial step may still be present and continue to hold back rapid rural school change to the point where the concept of reorganization as we view it today will be as antiquated in terms of the developing functions of education as are many of today's one-room schools.

Four factors which make reorganization difficult today and are likely to make change difficult at any time in the future are isolation, identification with present school structure, financial conservatism, and fear of urban values.

ISOLATION OF THE FARM FAMILY

The isolation of the farm family from community, region, and nation is an accepted historical fact. We have been reluctant to admit that, in comparison with urban society, the farm and even the rural village are still isolated. While the farmers have been finding a shorter time distance between themselves and their neighbors, their village center, and with the tertiary community, this by no means indicates that they have now become as cosmopolitan in their thinking and acting as their city neighbors. While this trend away from the isola-

tion of the early nineteenth century has been affecting the farmer, it has also been affecting the urban resident. Willing acceptance of change is not necessarily blind acceptance of change just as resistance to change is not necessarily blind rejection of change. As the rural groups have been moving toward more willing acceptance, so have the urban groups, thus maintaining many of the differences separating the two. No value judgment will be made here as to whether or not our present urban society is too willing to accept any scheme offered. Instead, it is logical to conclude that even today the isolation of farm and rural village is such that it keeps them well behind the crest of change. Because of such isolation, structural reorganization of school districts or any other government unit will continue to lag in proportion to the ruralness of the region affected.

IDENTIFICATION WITH STRUCTURE

The identification of the rural village citizen and the farmer with his local political and school structure is accepted both sociologically and psychologically. There is a deep sense of security associated with belonging to a small group. The neighborhood has provided the core of that identification in the past. Though much of that identification still remains, its decline is clearly recognized by rural sociologists. The neighborhood identification is becoming overshadowed by the ties to the community. We have seen how the city (tertiary community) has begun to reach the rural village through modern transportation and communication. Often the small rural community is no longer able to provide the basic services essential for an independent farm-village relationship. When this occurs, larger structures are demanded to meet the needs of these people. When school reorganizations have been accomplished on the basis of the small rural community or the small village locality group, and the time comes when adequate educational service cannot be provided on this basis, new reorganizations will be demanded. The same problem will occur then as once occurred in terms of identification with the neighborhood. The citizen will not want to move from the small inadequate base of an inadequately reorganized district to one which can meet the new needs and objectives which develop. Identification with the small community center is likely to

be just as powerful a deterrent to reorganization then as the neighborhood is today.

FINANCIAL CONSERVATISM OF FARM FAMILIES

The fact that the money income of farm and village people is consistently lower than urban income has influenced their attitudes toward public expenditures for education. In the acceptance of a certain system of values, the rural person has placed education in school at a lower plane than has the city person. The rural person has been and continues to be most conservative in his acceptance of new educational programs that will cost more money. Although the purpose of school reorganization is to provide a better education for boys, girls, and adults, it is sometimes considered solely on the basis of what it will cost. It is safe to conclude that, until such time as rural and city money incomes are better adjusted, the conservatism of the rural people will make structural reorganization of schools difficult.

FEAR OF URBAN VALUES

The gulf between rural and urban, which may not be as great as it once was, is still of enough significance to cause the rural person to question the urban way of life and urban values. The farm or small-town boy who moves cityward is suspected of gaining new ideas, new attitudes, and new modes of behavior that don't quite fit into the rural ways of life.

The fact that cities move faster in accepting new developments helps create the suspicion on the part of the ruralite that if he accepts this idea he will be under scrutiny by his neighbors. This suspicion is correct often enough to develop a serious reluctance to learn city ways. This reluctance is often vocalized by groups whose purpose it is to maintain the status quo for rural education.

When local initiative and support are required to accomplish school reorganizations, the reluctance to accept ideas tried in urban areas becomes a stumbling block to school progress. This does not indicate that the author believes urban schools should be copied, but that educational developments should be examined critically by rural people and selected or rejected on their merit for the rural community.

RESEARCH IN SCHOOL REORGANIZATION

Many research studies have been concluded which attempted to solve certain aspects of the problems of school district reorganization. Koyen's review of these studies shows that most of them were basically concerned with the provision of satisfactory fiscal, administrative, and attendance units.⁵ All of the studies reviewed were descriptive in nature, with subjective judgment used to determine aspects of the described communities which could be attributed to reorganization. In addition to description of a reorganized school community, some were projective in nature and pointed out what would be likely to happen if particular states, counties, or communities were to reorganize their school districts.

In the state of New York, where reorganization of school districts is much further advanced than it is in most states, Stromberg studied fifteen selected communities where reorganization had been in effect five years or more. He concluded that the centralized school increases the area of acquaintance, breaks down the barrier between village and farm people, and adds to the social growth of farm children. Likewise, the best display of community consciousness was shown where the best-educated voters were participating in school affairs, where the new school was considered to be operating successfully, and where a single village served as a center of trade and a center for the community organizations.⁶

Hanson⁷ has suggested that many high-school attendance areas are too small to serve as a basis for determining the boundaries of reorganized school districts. In most reorganization research, the writers display differences of opinion, not only as to the recommendations following their studies, but in terms of the interpretations they give to the concept of community with which they begin. Winther in his projective study of Rock County, Wisconsin, found that city districts con-

⁵ Roland A. Koyen, *An Analytical Study of Two Types of School District Organization*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1951, p. 79.

⁶ Eugene T. Stromberg, *The Influence of the Centralized Rural School on Community Organization*, Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University, AES, Bulletin 699, June, 1938, pp. 38-39.

⁷ Arnold E. Hanson, *An Evaluation of Ten Plans for Reorganizing Local School Units*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1940.

formed rather well with criteria developed for satisfactory school districts, but that these districts did not include all the area outside the city from which students were drawn. The village schools failed to meet his criteria because of low evaluations, small schools, and large proportions of tuition-paying students.⁸

In summarizing these studies, Koyen indicated that their significance rested in the emphasis placed on the following items:

1. No one pattern or plan of reorganization of school districts can be used with equal success in all areas.
2. The trade-area community, as the basis for the integrated school administrative unit, when properly delineated, provides sufficient material and human resources to support a good educational program and at the same time provides a means to better community organization and integration.
3. The high school attendance area is not always a true measure of a community.
4. There is need for strong leadership at the state level to distribute incentive aids so as to encourage reorganization of school districts which can provide adequate educational opportunities.
5. State and local leadership need to work together to provide facts and sources of information for county committees and the electors of the local districts.
6. Each community must work out a plan to suit its particular needs because communities differ in size, structure, and function.⁹

No study has gone beyond the descriptive or projective stage in analyzing school district reorganization up to the present time. However, in 1949-1950, one was begun in Wisconsin that should prove to be effective in obtaining valid answers that go beyond the "what exists" or the "what should happen" stage. This project, under the direction of the writer, is designed in such a way that longitudinal replication is possible. The writer reports: "Ten Wisconsin communities have been selected for analysis over a period of at least 21 years. The effects of school district reorganization will be measured in these communities in terms of (1) educational opportunities, (2) educa-

⁸ Adolph I. Winther, *A Study of School Districts in Rock County, Wisconsin, With a Proposal for Reorganization*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1948.

⁹ Koyen, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

tional results, (3) educational costs and (4) the change in community and neighborhood social structure and processes."¹⁰

This study follows longitudinally several groups of students through their school careers and beyond. The students are those in communities with different kinds of school district structure. The study is both a comparison among schools in specific years and an intracomparison of the results obtained in the same school community during different years.

In the first three years of the research certain tentative conclusions have been reached concerning relationships between community structure and acceptance of educational ideas. These conclusions are:

1. Homogeneous ethnic and religious groups that show resistance to change in their tendency to maintain their customs, traditions, and cultural patterns also tend to resist changes in school district reorganization.

2. Conservatism and social stability as evidenced in areas of traditional family farms are associated with resistance to change in school district reorganization.

3. Communities in which neighborhood and family ties are strong tend to resist changes in school district organization.

4. Acceptance of school district reorganization is associated with a diversity of occupations among the people of a community.

5. Acceptance of changes, such as technological developments and processes of cultural assimilation, are associated with acceptance of changes in school district organization.

6. Conservatism is one area, e.g., cultural assimilation, is associated with conservatism in other areas of experience and, conversely, the acceptance of change in one area is associated with the acceptance of change in other areas.

While the evidence of this study supports the foregoing conclusions, it is realized that follow-up studies in the same communities, and longitudinal studies of a like nature in other communities and schools of different sizes, will be necessary if the conclusions are to be validated to the extent that they may be used as generalizations.¹¹

Since there is yet no final answer as to the effectiveness of school

¹⁰ Burton W. Kreitlow, "New Research Measures Results of Reorganization," *The Nation's Schools*, July, 1952, p. 64.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

reorganization, we can conclude only that, on the theoretical basis and upon the recommendation of leading authorities, it should supply some of the answers to ways of improving education for rural boys and girls. It is by no means a panacea, and whenever considered such, loses its effectiveness as a means of educational improvement. Reorganization of school districts is a means to provide the setting for better schooling, and should thus be used.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Be sure to read "The Story of School Reorganization in the Shawano and Gresham Communities," which will be found in Appendix B.
 2. What were the most important elements which led to the organization of the Shawano-Gresham district?
 3. How important are steering committees and advisory committees in a community school?
 4. What questions would you have wanted to ask, had you heard these citizens give their report?
- B.
 1. What are the important changes in rural society that lead to a consideration of school reorganization?
 2. Consider each reorganization plan carefully. Which do you prefer? Why? Under what conditions?
 3. How much consideration should be given to what the community citizens think concerning school reorganization?
 4. Prepare a list of the most important specific elements making up a school program. Indicate the accompanying district structure which could most adequately provide for each.
 5. What important influences does a reorganization have upon the teachers in the school system?
 6. List the difficulties of school reorganization. Which are related to each of the following?
 - a. Educational level.
 - b. Community structure.
 - c. Educational structure.
 - d. Psychological make-up of rural citizens.
 7. Explain the various reactions of village, city, and farm people to proposals for school reorganization.
 8. Plan a tour of a newly reorganized school district in your state. Interview various segments of the population regarding their attitudes toward their new school venture.

CHAPTER 10

Programs in Rural Adult Education

Understanding a rural community means more than a knowledge of its history, its problems, its schools, or its pattern of economic services. Understanding is closely tied to a knowledge of a community's people, their motivation, their system of values, and the formal and informal groups which designate by their purpose the aspiration and inspiration of the local citizen.

By examining a community's program of adult education, it is possible to see the extent to which a community puts into action its recognition of the needs for further education of adults.

Needs for adult education programs exist in all rural communities. They are recognized to different degrees and with different patterns of emphasis from one community to the next. That they are recognized is evident in the expanding interest of rural organizations and agencies in programs for the adult population.

THE NEED FOR ADULT PROGRAMS

The need for adult programs in rural communities can be classified into six major categories. These are the need for basic education, technical and vocational education, cultural enrichment, understanding of social relationships, personality development, and community development.

BASIC EDUCATION

In an era as demanding of one's basic skills of communication as the present, it becomes imperative that all normal children and adults

learn to express themselves orally and in writing. Though vestiges of frontier days sometimes exist in rural culture islands, knowledge of the English language has become essential to functional everyday living. Yet there are people in rural America who cannot produce effectively either as individuals or as members of a community because of their inability to read, to write, to speak in the English language, to understand radio and television, or to participate as informed citizens.

In nearly every rural community there are so many adults who need simple literacy training that classes for that purpose could be organized. In 1949 a sample census indicated an illiteracy rate of 2.4 percent in rural nonfarm, and 5.3 percent in rural farm areas of the United States. This would mean that in an average community of 3000 persons 14 years of age or over, with 1500 in the village and 1500 in the open country, there would be 115 illiterates.

The recognition of these basic education needs in a community and the local action program to meet them is an important piece of evidence to be obtained by the rural educator if he is to understand the rural community.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

New farming and homemaking skills, technological developments in small businesses, and new machines and machine methods in farming and farm service have carried with them a continuous stream of demands for learning on the part of the rural citizen. That all new ideas and methods can be obtained efficiently on a learn-as-you-go basis is an assumption that overlooks the speed with which changes have occurred.

The development of portable electric welders has demanded of farmers a new mechanical skill. The increasing complexity of income-tax returns has demanded more adequate bookkeeping. The almost universal electrification of rural communities requires that housewives learn how to use electricity most effectively. The coverage now given rural communities by television stations in the cities requires that electricians and radio repairmen need new knowledge and new skills.

Though the formal schooling through high school may develop technical and vocational programs of its own, the recognition of these

needs for the adult is an important indication of a community's educational maturity.

CULTURAL ENRICHMENT

One of the needs of adult education that is most fully recognized is in the area of cultural enrichment. Along with that recognition is often a minimum amount of effort to promote cultural growth in rural communities. Rural citizens may agree that "cultural development doesn't hurt anyone" and yet not be willing to promote programs in their community that attempt to add to the fullness and richness of life. This often leads the observer to conclude that the verbal recognition of the need for cultural enrichment is indeed shallow if not entirely lacking in conviction. What is it about this community that made it possible for a public agency to develop an art program that was participated in by several hundred farmers and villagers? What makes it possible for another rural community to have developed such a superior choir? Why is this particular leisure time project so well organized and received? Behind the answers to these questions is something about each of these communities that prompts it to take such action. The action a community takes to meet these cultural needs is a significant item for any professional rural worker to observe and understand.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the early rural neighborhood the social relationships among families living in proximity was great. Each succeeding generation has fondly looked back at the friendliness and neighborliness that once was, and wished that some of these early relationships were more evident today. The need for improved social relationships exists and is recognized by most rural agencies. Oftentimes, however, the action taken to improve this area of living is backed by meager efforts or efforts devoted to attempts to reconstruct the past. In studying the rural community, it is necessary that it be considered in terms of the way in which it is meeting present day demands for better social relationships, instead of how well it duplicates the past. The occasional quilting bee, box social, and neighbor visitation may still be desirable activities, but the effort to concentrate on the old-fashioned activities rather than

meeting the present-day needs for sound social relationships stamps a community as being oriented to a past age.

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

The development of personality is basically a childhood process. In spite of that, the adult through his added experiences and understandings is in a more desirable position to do something about the status of his own personality characteristics. He is still able to change if he feels that a change is desirable. Are the adults in this community concerned about their own growth and development? Do they look at themselves in terms of what they want to do, what they are able to do, and what they can be trained to do? Are they aware of their own personal capacity for service? In the community it is well to recognize the need for self-appraisal and opportunities for self-improvement. To be secure people must be able to get along with themselves, with their families and with their community. Behind this security is a sound development of individual personality. Recognition of this need by agencies working with rural adults is expanding but by no means being carried out in practical programs.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Once again the socio-psychological reshuffling of rural life from a frontier toward an urban culture has effected a need for adult education. The rural community's movement from independence to interdependence has opened an entire array of problems which can only be solved on the basis of the total community. Are adults being educated to keep up with the changing institutions and ways of life? Are community problems being attacked on a community basis, or is each little subgroup of the community looking for its own self-interest? Are they being alert to the loss of desirable elements of rural life that centralization destroys? Are they aware of the responsibilities of citizenship outside the single rural community, responsibilities that extend to region, nation, or world development? Essert analyzed the need for recognition of community development responsibilities and concluded, "The problem, therefore, is to discover or establish new face-to-face community relationships that will supplement and counter the tend-

encies toward centralization, and through which the ordinary citizen can keep in touch with the major problems of the larger community and at the same time take an active part in developing his immediate environment. In brief, we need to discover or form new communities in which adults can experience self-government and close fellowship."¹

The degree to which rural community agencies and organizations recognize and show evidence of solving these six needs will alert the rural educator to important characteristics of community composition and potential.

EFFORTS TO MEET THE SIX NEEDS

The needs of the rural adult for further learning experiences are recognized and acted upon to different degrees and in different ways by rural communities. Consideration will be given to ways in which five rural agencies have responded in meeting the needs of rural adults. These agencies often respond in different ways to like situations in a particular community. Likewise, one or two of those listed may act cooperatively to meet the educative desires of adults. In still other communities, agencies not here considered may carry the important part of the adult education program. The agencies given consideration are: the public schools, the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service, the farm organizations, the coöperatives, and the rural church.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Efforts of schools to meet adult needs are extremely variable among communities and among states. Although no statistics exist that show the extent to which rural schools have adult programs for the adults, we know that the proportion of adults reached would be low. On the basis of available data, it is found that the total adults reached on a state basis, including both urban and rural, is likewise low. In the states with the greatest coverage (California, Wisconsin, and New York), only 5.87, 2.94, and 2.93 percent of the 1948 population were enrolled or served by public schools during the 1947-1948 school year.²

¹ Paul L. Essert, *Creative Leadership in Adult Education*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951, pp. 94-95.

² Homer Kempfer, *Adult Education Activities of the Public Schools*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education Pamphlet No. 107, Washington, D. C., 1949, p. 19.

Yet the schools, when the need for adult programs is recognized, are of great help to the community. The teachers of vocational agriculture and homemaking are often the first to promote adult programs in their particular areas of specialization. These programs are oriented to technical and vocational needs, and often become the forerunner of demands for additional programs. The teacher of agriculture who recognizes the needs of young adults for cultural enrichment as well as for farm management principles, and who directs their energies in such a way that cultural activities are pursued, is an asset to a community. In the same vein, if a group of young rural adults help develop a culturally oriented program, it tells something of their own make-up.

Rural community schools in many states have encouraged adults to make decisions on the kinds of programs they need and want. In many instances the administration informs the citizens of a school district that whenever ten or more people ask for the same type of course or program, it will be developed. On this basis there has been increasing evidence to show that rural adults want more than vocational training—they recognize their needs for growth in any number of the areas already discussed.

The public school, to a much greater extent than the other agencies, can feel a responsibility to all the possible avenues of adult education. In that regard none of the needs of adults should be overlooked or relegated to a secondary role. The purposes of public-school education and the needs of adults are both about as comprehensive as life itself. That being true, the school is in the position of having to pick and choose in order to decide which programs are of greatest worth to the community, or which programs could more effectively be handled by some other agency or in coöperation with some other agency.

THE COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE

The record of the Agricultural Extension Service in meeting the needs of rural adults is of long standing and of continuous development. Programs for rural adults in agriculture and home economics have been so widespread and so well accepted by farm people that no other single program for adults, either rural or urban, will stand comparison with it. In its work with adult education, Cooperative Ex-

tension is concerned primarily with education for making a living, education for homemaking, and education for a useful democratic citizenship. The technical revolution in agriculture during the past thirty years could not have occurred as smoothly as it has without an educational agency to interpret these developments to farm people and to develop an understanding of land use in relation to the new machines. The need for the help of an agency such as the Agricultural Extension Service is realized when new developments such as hybrid corn, artificial insemination of cattle, or mechanical cotton harvesters are made available to the farmer.

Though greatest progress has been shown in meeting technical and vocational needs, it is not the only area of success experienced by the Extension Service. The adjustments the individual farmer or homemaker is to make as a result of mechanization are real and are being given consideration. New demands are continually being made in improving social relationships from the very personal aspects of these relationships to creating an understanding of national and world affairs.

It is often said that the Extension Service should not attempt to meet the needs of rural people for information and understanding of national and international affairs. Yet if no agency is accepting that task as its responsibility, the Extension Service, with its tradition and reputation for meeting the demands of its constituents can do naught but lead the organization of such a program. Of the national issues most often studied by farm groups, agricultural policy is first. Large programs on this issue have been developed in Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Texas.³ In these programs an attempt is made to promote understanding of the problems and issues involved, rather than in the advocacy of a particular program.

In Iowa a large program in international affairs has been developed. One wonders how Agricultural Extension agents, who are generally trained in the technical knowledge of agriculture or homemaking, can do an adequate job in dealing with international affairs that are even

³ Wallace E. Ogg, "The Cooperative Extension Service in Today's World," *State Government*, September, 1952, pp. 211-215.

difficult for the person with training in political science or history. It is accomplished by preparing resource materials for adult use with the aid of the college staff in history and government, and by the co-operation of librarians. The connection of the land-grant college with the Extension Service makes this arrangement workable.

It was found in Wisconsin that public policy discussions organized by the Agricultural Extension Service in answer to needs and demands of rural people covered a wide variety of issues in any one year. Most interesting in terms of rural education was the request from two counties in 1951-1952 for public policy meetings dealing with the methods of public school improvement. In the county training meetings held in response to these requests, it was found possible not only to use staff members from the Department of Education of the University of Wisconsin (a land-grant college), but also to obtain the service of educators from the state colleges.

The demands for the traditional farming and homemaking programs are still great and are being met by the Agricultural Extension Service. More and more, rural folks are insisting on education for citizenship in and an understanding of today's world. This challenge the Extension Service is accepting because it recognizes that rural people are its partners in a changing world.

FARM ORGANIZATIONS

The role of the three big farm organizations in meeting the needs of rural adults is less general than that of public agencies. These organizations, the Grange, the Farmers Union, and the Farm Bureau, appeal to particular groups of farmers or farm families, and develop their programs in terms of these select groups. The memberships are obtained in relation to the objectives of the organization and the reputation it has in the community or county. Because with few exceptions leadership in these organizations is voluntary and nonprofessional at county and community level, it is possible to develop programs that more nearly reflect the felt needs of rural adults. It is also true that programs developed without direct aid from professional educational advisors often remain so localized in their scope that little education results. Certainly where needs for socializing, fellowship, and recrea-

tion are being met by these agencies, it is not essential that they have profound educational programs. Recognition of the particular roles they play in any individual community is necessary before their activities can be classified as being educational.

The Grange is the oldest of the three great farm organizations which are organized for, and carry out, programs of education in rural areas. The founders of the Grange in 1867 gave as a principal purpose for creating the organization "to educate and elevate the American farmer." Charles Gardner, in reviewing the history of eight decades of Grange accomplishment calls it "the great school out of school."

Strong interest in education of its present members is indicated both in local unit (subordinate Grange) action programs and in the literature developed by its state and national offices. The person responsible for the local unit's educational program is known as the Lecturer. His duties include such activities as planning and directing the program and educational work of the local unit; coöperating with other Lecturers to exchange educational plans, encouragement of the appreciation of country life and satisfaction of rural living, striving to improve rural-urban relations by promoting a better understanding between the two groups, attendance at and organization of conferences designed to aid Grange Lecturers in their educational job and help coördinate the work of the women's and youth's educational committees.

Home economics education activities were authorized by the National Grange in 1910, and today each state Grange has its home economics department. Some of their greatest achievements have been in their educational assistance to other groups in the form of lectures and demonstrations. Comprehensive handbooks on homemaking aid have been published and, through the efforts of this department of the Grange, a girls' dormitory was financed at Pennsylvania State College, and a Home Management House was furnished at State College, Amherst, Massachusetts.

The Juvenile Grange has also been included in a strong education program for younger Grange members since 1886. It has taken part in such educational activities as conservation and forestry projects, and the establishment of circulating libraries for the organization.

The *National Grange Monthly* is the organ of the National Grange

and reaches most of the Grange's 860,000 members. Although such activities as obtaining effective farm legislation and the development of social activities are the major focus of the Grange's work, the educational aspects are not overlooked. Considerable effort has been made in recent years to make their local units more conscious of the educational purpose of the organization.

Nearly all the work of the American Farm Bureau can be classified as either economic or educational. The legislative work of the Bureau is largely educational, with primary emphasis on gathering and collecting information relative to legislation and then passing it on to the membership. The maintenance and growth of Farm Bureau membership is quite dependent upon the program of informing farm families of the objectives and accomplishments of the organization. In a recent Farm Bureau brochure, the fundamental program of the organization is described as follows:

It is a great institution of social democracy, cooperating with the government in the improvement of human relationships. Through it, men and women are learning to live and work together for the individual and common welfare. . . .

The county Farm Bureaus early set themselves to the task of improving the status of farmers and of rural community life. In its great economic, educational and social work for more than twenty years, cooperating with the Extension Service, the Land Grant Colleges, the Experiment Stations, the Vocational Teachers, and the United States Department of Agriculture, it has proved to be the most fundamental set-up ever devised for effective organization of farmers.

The first job undertaken by the Farm Bureau consisted of carrying the latest scientific information to the people, but as the organization developed, the program became as broad as agriculture itself. The biggest thing the Farm Bureau has done has been to develop thousands of strong, unselfish agricultural leaders, imbued with the spirit of humanitarianism and possessed of a great vision of and faith in the fundamentals of democracy.⁴

The purpose of the Farm Bureau is to promote, protect, and represent the business, economic, social, and educational interests of American farm people, and to develop agriculture. It is evident that any

⁴ American Farm Bureau Federation, *Of, By and For Farmers*, Chicago, American Farm Bureau Federation, 1953, p. 2.

means developed to achieve this purpose would involve a rather comprehensive adult education program. There were 1,500,000 farm families who were members in 1950 in forty-five states and Puerto Rico. This figure attests to the extent of the actual audience of the Farm Bureau's educational program.

The Farmers Union, with its goals of peace, abundance, security, and freedom, also takes special cognizance of the role of education in reaching those goals. The symbol of the Farmers Union is the triangle, with one side of the triangle representing education. The other sides represent legislation and coöperation which both require adult education to be effective.

One of the most important learning situations for the Farmers Union is during the meetings of the local. It is here that member families receive new information and discuss pertinent and important rural issues for the purpose of arriving at conclusions and taking action. The Farmers Union has a reputation for strong action once decisions are made; thus education prior to decision becomes very essential in order to maintain status as an organization. Stanley Vogt reports that education as a part of the Farmers Union program is the process of people thinking and discussing together, in order to direct their energies toward effective action.⁵

The 250,000 farm families enrolled as members of the Farmers Union have as guides to their educational program local education directors, county education directors, and a director of education in their state office. Most of the local and county directors are lay leaders who have been selected for their special talents in organizing programs and leading discussions. They are aided by materials from their state and national office. In addition to the contact with the education directors, the farm families are reached monthly by such papers as the *National Union Farmer* and often the *Farmers Union Herald*.

THE COÖPERATIVES

The coöperatives in rural areas have also placed considerable emphasis on education programs for their members. As would be expected,

⁵ Stanley Vogt, *The Last Frontier*, Denver, The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, p. 107.

the area of greatest educational emphasis is in the economics of co-operation. But it includes also education in management, democratic living, and human relationships. Emory Bogardus, in reviewing educational activities of coöperatives, lists twenty-five educational activities that have proved successful.⁶ Those most significant for rural adults are:

1. The publishing at least once a month of a clean-cut, attractively-arranged Bulletin which is distributed to each member of the Society. It contains price items, news of membership and committee meetings, and personals, as well as cooperative news items of regional, national and international activities.
2. The planning of interesting membership meetings with varied, snappy program and with statistical data presented in the form of catchy charts and diagrams; also an annual cooperative exhibition or pageant.
3. Obtaining rental films from regional wholesales or the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.; film strips, colored slides dealing with consumer and cooperative topics can be used as supplementary aspects of membership meetings.
4. Securing from regional wholesale or the Cooperative League attractive Posters and develop local Posters dealing with the Society's business and educational work and principles.
5. Supervising a small, carefully selected library of books on consumer and cooperative subjects for browsing and rental purposes.
6. Where conditions are favorable, the development of a fifteen-minute radio program presenting entertainment and informational materials of a cooperative nature once a week in conjunction with other cooperative societies in the area.
7. Developing a modest Scholarship Fund for helping the younger members of the society to attend institutes and week-end training programs dealing with cooperative, educational, and recreational themes.
8. Planning one week-end Institute each year for board members jointly with neighboring cooperative societies, under the direction of the Cooperative League of the regional society.
9. Planning a one week-end Institute each year for managers and other employees jointly with other societies and under the direction of the regional wholesale or the Cooperative League.

⁶ Emory S. Bogardus, *Educational Activities of Cooperatives*, The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., pp. 1-8.

10. Organizing one or more study circles dealing with some of the local Society's problems.
11. Under the direction of the Cooperative Correspondence School, Superior, Wisconsin, organizing small Correspondence Study Circle each year, based on one or another of the several correspondence courses of that School which are designed to improve the efficiency of board members, committee members, and employees of a local society.
12. Organizing a consumers' study circle for consideration of reports on buying values, comparative prices, consumer-needed legislation.

The coöperative movement is strongest in the rural Midwest, and the farm supply and rural general stores are the largest field that the co-operatives have entered. It is estimated that these coöperatives supply 20 to 25 percent of the major farm and home needs of America's rural population. These coöperatives alone had a membership of over 2,500,000 people in 1950.⁷

THE RURAL CHURCH

The activities of the rural church in adult education are more varied in both quality and quantity than any organization thus far considered. The effort of some rural churches is entirely limited to religious education for adults, while others interpret as their responsibility coöperation with such programs as those in the field of public health, art and music, discussion of public land policy, soil conservation, and total community development. It is well to remember that even with the church's role limited to adult education in the more specific religious areas it still wields considerable influence on the total rural population.

Undoubtedly the best organized of the rural churches' adult programs are those sponsored by or coördinated with the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. The leadership efforts of Monsignor Father Luigi Ligutti, its executive secretary, have been such that nearly all rural Catholic parishes in the United States have become at least partially involved in the Conference's educational programs. Its major efforts are devoted to meeting the objectives of the Conference, which are:

⁷ Jerry Voorhis, *The Cooperatives Look Ahead*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 32, New York, Public Affairs, Inc., p. 14.

to strengthen and develop Catholicity in the rural districts, and to promote the general welfare of the rural population.

To these ends the Conference shall study rural life in all its phases; shall provide a national forum for discussion of rural problems; shall endorse and sponsor projects looking to the solution of these problems; shall develop a literature on subjects pertaining to Catholic rural life; shall maintain friendly contact with other rural life associations; and shall interest itself in every worthy effort to bring the blessings of wholesome living to our rural population.⁸

The efforts of Protestant churches in adult education are varied. The activities of the Lutheran church in rural life and education have been increasing rapidly under the direction of leaders in the Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council. Their efforts to bring the results of rural church conferences and the thinking of agricultural leaders to their membership is evidenced by such publications as *Lutheran Higher Education in Service to Rural People* and *The Church Conserves Her Youth for the Rural Community*.

In the last fifteen years the Lutheran church has made significant progress toward an effective rural program. This program has been strengthened by its sponsorship of rural life conferences and institutes among its various synods.

The Congregational Christian Churches maintain an Agricultural Relations Department which helps to prepare summaries of new farm facts, discussion guides, and summaries of agricultural policy materials for distribution to leaders in its rural congregations. Agricultural policies which have been considered by this group are agricultural production; price and income policy; seasonal agricultural labor; and land tenure and the family farm. This group has also developed a rural discussion project in Christian ethics in which groups of farmers are encouraged to make intensive study and report on the implications of Christian teaching for their vocation as farmers.

The work of nearly all rural churches in the field of music has long been recognized. Before the days of radio and television, the rural church choir was the major contact of farm people with music. Though

⁸ The National Catholic Rural Life Conference, *The Popes and Social Principles of Rural Life*, Des Moines, National Catholic Rural Life Conference (no date), p. 6.

their contacts are now much broader and their children attend schools with music as an important part of the curriculum, the rural church still maintains an important educational role for adults in the areas of music participation and appreciation.

DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING COMPREHENSIVE ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The difficulties faced in developing adult education programs in rural areas in many respects are similar to those facing the educational programs at the elementary and secondary levels. Those given special consideration here are (1) the sparsity of the rural population, (2) the incomplete recognition of needs by rural adults, and (3) the lack of coordination of the various programs for adults. Other difficulties that are related to the adult program but which have been considered in relation to rural education in general are financial ability, attitude toward education, available facilities, school district organization, and low levels of professional training.

SPARSITY OF POPULATION

When rural people lived in a simple but rigorous frontier culture, the few opportunities available for adult education prompted them to make great efforts to participate. The Chautauquas were attended by farmers who spent half a day driving to town. The lecture on Africa by some returning missionary was cause for a long drive and a full day's stay at the church in order to listen, pray, and discuss both missionary problems and problems of the day with one's neighbors.

With the movement to a more complex rural society, and the great social and educational organizing that accompany such a society, the people get the opportunity for free choice of those educational activities in which they will participate. Where one activity was all that was available each month, most everyone within walking or team-haul distance would attend. Where fifty activities are available each month, the attendance will come from those who are willing to choose that educational activity over forty-nine others. In cities those fifty activities may all be within thirty-minute auto or bus distance. In rural areas they may be scattered over various parts of an entire county. Thus the

rural resident chooses not only on the basis of his interest and need, but on the basis of driving time as well. To provide every adult education program for which there is need in every rural community would be extremely expensive. Thus it means that the programs in rural adult education are often limited to those where enough citizens will participate to make the program financially feasible. Where but five people in a given community of 3000 people want a specific course or program, perhaps it would not be offered. At that point the factor of distance would probably remove from consideration some of those interested.

The difficulties in providing comprehensive adult education coverage in rural communities cannot always be overcome. This factor demands more careful planning and evaluation of programs and proposals than is ordinarily needed in cities. Rural society cannot afford to meet second-degree needs when primary needs have not first been provided.

INCOMPLETE RECOGNITION OF NEEDS BY RURAL ADULTS

Many programs in rural adult education that are developed by professional educators (teachers, extension agents, soil conservationists, etc.) reach only a small group of the rural citizens either directly or indirectly. It is often the conclusion of these workers that adults actually don't know what they really need. This may be partly true. If it is, it indicates that, until methods have been developed or techniques used which can get more adequate recognition of needs, the educational coverage by rural adult programs will be incomplete. Incomplete recognition of needs, coupled with the sparsity of population, makes the development of more comprehensive programs extremely difficult. The results have been heartening in those rural areas where special efforts have been made to discover needs and meet them. The early work in Taos, New Mexico, and the recent Montana study point to greater possibilities in adult education through community self-study programs.

COORDINATION OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

There are a greater proportion of cities with adult education coordinating committees than there are rural communities with such

committees. The problems faced in providing a strong adult program in rural areas point directly to the need for coördinating the efforts of the various agencies which now provide service. Because of the sparsity of population, it appears to be even more essential here than in the cities. How many different educational institutions and organizations are trying to do the same things? The rural church, the vocational agriculture program in high school, the Agricultural Extension Service, the Farmer's Home Administration, and the farm organizations are all concerned with the establishment of the young adult in farming. The Soil Conservation Service, the rural church, the schools, the farm coöperative, and the Agricultural Extension Service are attempting to teach adults to conserve natural resources. The schools, the churches, the farm organizations, and most state and federal agencies make efforts to bring opportunities for cultural growth to the people of a single rural community. Even with the recognition of overlapping objectives among agencies, little effort is made to co-ordinate their action. It is important to the development of the total community's program that this be done. How it is done may vary from one community to the next, and the responsibility to begin the job can be taken by any of the agencies that are concerned. If better facilities and organization of adult programs are considered essential to the development and enlightenment of rural society, it appears that there are sufficient educational groups now operating to do the job. The problems to solve immediately in rural adult education are the clarification of agency roles, coördinating the efforts of those several agencies with similar objectives, and discovery of the programs most needed in each community. Fortunately few if any new organizations are needed to do the job.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A. 1. Investigate the illiteracy rate in your state and county. Use 1940 and 1950 census data.
2. Develop a comprehensive list of the active adult education agencies in your home community. Obtain copies of their most recent year's program of work or curriculum offering. Which areas of need are given greatest consideration in your community? Why?

- B. 1. The six needs for adult programs listed in this chapter are by no means exclusive. Prepare a list of other needs which rural education organizations recognize and consider in programming.
2. Consider each of the six needs for adult programs independently. For each:
- a. List the agencies or institutions concerned with meeting the need.
 - b. Identify those with the strongest programs to meet the need.
 - c. Identify those meeting the need only for select groups.
 - d. Identify the aspects of the need which are most difficult to meet by present agencies.

CHAPTER 11

The Agricultural Extension Service

ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY

It is unlikely that a program of rural adult education similar to the Agricultural Extension Service could have developed in a stationary rural society, one in which other than democratic values prevail. The Agricultural Extension Service grew in the culture media provided by a changing agriculture and a dynamic society. There was concern for others in all walks of life, and efforts to provide equal opportunities. There was opportunity in a free society for any segment of that society to attempt to better itself by democratic means. Education was the means accepted as the key to improvement of the position of the rural family. Although the development of the Extension Service was primarily aimed at helping the farmer and the farm family, its growth soon encompassed all rural society and now reaches many suburban and urban groups as well.

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES AND STATE EFFORTS

The efforts of farmers to improve farm family living is evidenced in the agricultural societies that were formed as early as 1785. In the 1792 records of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, it is found that such means as fairs, circular letters, and outside speakers were used in an effort to improve agriculture.¹ Another develop-

¹Lincoln D. Kelsey and Cannon C. Hearne, *Cooperative Extension Work*, Ithaca, N. Y., Comstock Publishing Company, Inc., 1949, p. 12.

ment that precluded the establishment of a federal agency for rural education was the formation of state boards of agriculture beginning with Ohio in 1846. Farmers' institutes, agricultural societies, and the Chautauqua were organized and reached out into rural areas with their educational programs. By creating the basis for the land-grant colleges in the Morrill Act of 1862, the Congress and President of the United States showed a positive stand in relation to developing farm programs.

County agent work, later to become the core of the Agricultural Extension Service, was begun prior to its official recognition by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. In 1886, Professor Seaman Knapp began his classic leadership in agricultural development in Louisiana, which led to an emergency appropriation of \$40,000 by Congress to bring home to the farmer on his own farm information which would enable him to grow cotton despite the presence of the weevil.² In 1904 over twenty agents were working in Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas with 7000 farmer demonstrators. The early county agents were closely aligned with the strong leadership of Professor Knapp and his efforts to develop coöperative programs. These programs all placed emphasis on active participation of the farmers under the direction of a trained agriculturalist.

In the North and West, county agents were being employed to do demonstration and farmers' institute work. In Pennsylvania the State College and the Office of Farm Management appointed four county agricultural agents in 1912. The Chamber of Commerce in Broome County, New York, employed a county agent in 1911. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad had planned a demonstration farm along its line about this time, but gave up the idea and instead joined with the Chamber of Commerce to employ the county agent. Two counties in North Dakota hired their first agents in 1912. The first Wisconsin county agent also began work in 1912, with support entirely from public funds. Counties in other states began to consider this trend in education for the farmer so that, by passage of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, there was a positive acceptance and support of the new legislation.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICES

The passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914 provided the first federal moneys and the basic operating framework for the program of Agricultural Extension. This program was to extend agricultural and homemaking knowledge from the land-grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture to the rural people of the United States. The strong sentiment that had been developed for such a program, and the existence of strong lines of communication between federal and state agencies made it possible to develop a program which showed immediate results. The vision of those early leaders is attested to by the development of a comprehensive program which now reaches nearly 7 million rural families each year. The growth of the Extension Service was and continues to be phenomenal. Thus the Capper-Ketchum Act of 1928, the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1935, and the Bankhead-Flannagan Act of 1945 were forms of legislative recognition of the values in federal aids to out-of-school education programs.

Certain characteristics of the Smith-Lever Act were basic to all subsequent acts that were passed. These were demanded to keep up with the growing recognition and use of the service. The most significant characteristics of the Smith-Lever Act were its emphasis on co-operation and the way in which the federal funds were distributed. It was necessary that the work in the counties be carried on in connection with the land grant colleges coöperating with the United States Department of Agriculture. In the first year (1914-1915) the Act provided \$10,000 for each state. The following year a total of \$600,000 was available for distribution, and an additional \$500,000 was added each year thereafter until 1922-1923.³ These additional funds were divided among the states "in the proportion which the rural population of each state bears to the total rural population of all the states." Distribution of these funds above the original \$10,000 to each state could not be made "until an equal sum has been appropriated for that year by the legislature of such state or provided by state, county, college, local authority or individual contributions

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

from within the state." In the Smith-Lever Act, funds could not be used for such items as rental or purchase of land or buildings, college teaching, agricultural training, or printing in excess of 5 percent of the funds distributed. As could be expected, certain working relationships beyond the wording of the law had to be developed as the funds were distributed and put to use. The Memorandum of Understanding between Cornell University and the United States Department of Agriculture provided the framework to clarify these relationships and was subsequently used in part or in total by other colleges of agriculture. Kelsey and Hearne summarize this memorandum in terms of the agreement of each party. They point out:

1. The state college agreed:
 - a. to organize and maintain a definite administrative division for the management and conduct of the work.
 - b. to administer all funds through such a division.
 - c. to cooperate with the U. S. Department of Agriculture in all extension work which the Department was authorized to conduct in the state.
2. The U. S. Department of Agriculture agreed:
 - a. to establish and maintain a central office for the general supervision of all extension work.
 - b. to conduct all its extension work in the state in cooperation with the college.
3. It was mutually agreed:
 - a. that the work should be planned under the joint supervision of the state director and the responsible officer for the U. S. Department of Agriculture.
 - b. that all appointees should be joint representatives.
 - c. that plans should be made and executed by the states subject to the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture.⁴

The Capper-Ketchum Act of 1928 provided additional funds to be distributed and controlled in much the same manner as they were in the Smith-Lever Act. Additional requirements governing use of funds lifted the restriction regarding agricultural training, and required that 80 percent of the federal moneys should be used for pay-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

ment of the salaries of Extension agents in counties. Due to the increasing emphasis on club work among youth, the wording of the law regarding use was changed to read "with men, women, boys and girls" instead of the reference only to men and women in the earlier law. In addition a specific provision was made for the appointment of both men and women Extension agents in just proportions, thus aiding the expansion of the home economics work in the counties.

Further funds not requiring matching nor offset by the states were provided in 1935 by virtue of the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Act. Certain other changes and variations can be noted. For example: After \$20,000 was appropriated to each state, the remainder of the \$8,000,000 appropriation was to be made in the proportion which the farm population of each state bore to the total farm population of all the states. This change from rural population to farm population as the basis of apportionment helped to sharpen the focus of the objectives of the Extension Service in the direction of the farm population. It was also possible to use Bankhead-Jones funds for resident teaching and research.

The Bankhead-Flannagan Act of 1945 provided funds in addition to those appropriated by the prior acts. Particular emphasis in use of the funds was placed on the development of the county extension program. It is noted in the law that encouragement was given to broadening the scope of the county program to include such matters as improvement of the standards of living of farm people, development of individual farm and home plans, improvement in the marketing and distribution of farm products, work with rural youth in 4-H Clubs and with the older out-of-school youth, guidance of farm people in improving farm and home buildings, and development of effective programs in canning, food preservation, and nutrition.

From the coöperative nature of the laws it is possible to interpret the role of each responsible governmental unit, federal, state, and county. The basic task at federal level is to provide the funds after terms of the regulations in the laws have been met by the various states. The responsibility of the state is to provide administrative, supervisory, and specialist help to the various counties, and aid in the development of programs that qualify under the regulations of the Acts

of Congress. The responsibility of the county is to aid in the development of educational programs in the county on an individual and group basis. The development and accomplishment of sound rural education programs at county level are the tasks of agents assigned to those counties.

In the overall financing of the program, it is well to keep in mind that federal aids are distributed to the Agricultural Extension Service on the basis of two well accepted principles. The first is the principle of *coöperation*. In practice this is coöperation in the provision of funds by federal, state, and county level sources. The county funds may be supplied by county government or by private organizations such as the Farm Bureau. The second principle is distribution of funds according to the rural or farm *population* to be served. The one principle of fund distribution that has not developed in the framework of the Agricultural Extension Service is distribution on the basis of *ability to pay*. With the exception of small emergency grants, the areas with the least economic resources get the same aid as the wealthy areas—if they can afford to match the federal funds requiring an offset.

OBJECTIVES OF COOPERATIVE EXTENSION IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

The initial objectives of the Extension Service were broadly stated in the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. Although the law by no means spelled out the specifics that early leaders felt were inherent in the movement toward federal aid for Extension work, it did provide a base for a broad interpretation. The following statements from that first law demonstrate the nature of the early official objectives:

—in order to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same. . . .

The cooperative agricultural extension work shall consist of the giving of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons not attending or resident in said colleges in the several communities, and imparting to such persons information on said subjects through field demonstrations, publications, and otherwise . . .⁵

⁵ Smith-Lever Act, May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. L. 372).

More important than the law itself were the interpretations of the early leaders in Extension, for they were the ones responsible for the almost complete local acceptance of the work of the Extension Service. These interpretations have been of particular concern to Kelsey and Hearne, from whom the following summaries are selected.⁶

From Dr. Seaman Knapp: "To readjust agriculture and place it upon a basis of greater profit, to reconstruct the rural home, and to give country life an attraction, a dignity and potential influence it has never received."

From Dr. Liberty H. Bailey of Cornell University: "To teach those who have a desire for information, and to create a desire for information in those who do not yet have the desire."

From A. F. Lever, coauthor of the Smith-Lever Act: "He (the itinerant teacher or demonstrator) is to assume leadership in every movement whatever it may be, the aim of which is better farming, better living, more happiness, more education, and better citizenship."

It took only a few years of operation before still other Extension Service objectives were being mentioned by agricultural leaders.

From L. B. Simons in New York State College of Agriculture: "Our largest objective, whether we are dealing with our own programs or helping with others is the development of strong self-reliant men, women, boys and girls, and of good rural citizenship in the open country."

From F. D. Farrell when in the Kansas State College of Agriculture: "To develop understanding and appreciation of rural values, to promote an understanding of rural problems, to develop practical methods of solving rural problems, to make rural life more satisfying and beautiful, to promote improved integration of farming and rural life with other activities and interests of the nation."

From M. L. Wilson in 1944: "It is a partnership agency in which the officials of government—federal, state and county—sit in council with rural people and together analyze local conditions, take stock of their resources, and make and help to carry out programs for the financial, educational, and social benefit of the community and its individual members."

In recent years the annual reports of the Director of Extension provide the best means of identifying the latest ways in which the

⁶ Kelsey and Hearne, *op cit.*, pp. 33-35.

objectives of the program are verbalized. The following excerpts are from the report made in June, 1950.

The 12,000 extension workers throughout the Nation devoted their best efforts during the year to teaching nearly seven million families how to make the most of their resources and achieve a better living . . . the extension service helped these families to solve a wide variety of problems relating to agriculture and family living.

Carrying science to people so that they could put it to work on the farm and in the home was the main job of Extension during the year. By teaching men, women, and children how to use the findings of research, Extension helped them to do better in all kinds of farm, home, and community activities. In effect, Extension helped them to help themselves.

Fundamentally, extension work is not carried on with soils, crops, livestock, poultry, trees, clothing, or food; it is carried on with people. The rural family is the main target of extension education. Extension's objective is to help the rural family get a vision of the possible improvements in rural living and then to help them transform this vision into reality. Since the rural wife and mother is one of the wellsprings of better family living, much of the emphasis of the Extension Service is put on education work with women—home demonstration work.

The emphasis given to the community is typical of the concern of extension education with helping to improve rural living in its various aspects.

Extension gave marked attention to the financial problems of beginning farmers.

Extension work looks toward better home and community surroundings, as well as adequate income, good nutrition, and other factors in a satisfying life.

Extension workers contributed during the year to successful family relationships and wise rearing of children.

Because of the tense international situation, rural people welcomed extension's increased effort to promote understanding of world problems.

Extension workers carried on a variety of educational programs during the year to help rural people be healthy and have access to medical care, hospitalization, and other services that are essential in achieving and maintaining health.

In a number of states, extension workers helped in the organization and development of county choruses of rural women.⁷

These excerpts from the 1950 report indicate clearly Extension's objectives are now so broad that there is practically nothing they do not encompass. Though this may not be true in practice in any one county or community, it is generally true in total in work reported from throughout the nation. The rural educator in fields other than Extension must of necessity investigate the particular operating objectives and practices of the Extension Service at the local level to see which direction they take and how intensive is their application. The scope of the local program appears to be limited only by personnel and the vision of those developing the yearly program of work.

EXTENSION METHODS IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

With objectives as all-inclusive as those of the Extension Service, it is valid to assume that their methods are broad. The methods used can be roughly classified into two groups: those methods common to most rural and adult education agencies, and those which have been closely allied with the Extension Service. The composite picture, Figure 38, shows a number of methods in operation.

METHODS COMMON TO SEVERAL ADULT AGENCIES

The Extension Service from its inception has made considerable use of the lecture and discussion methods in meetings it promoted, or when invited to participate by some other rural agency. Likewise the mass media of communication have been fully accepted by Extension agents as a method of reaching rural people. These methods are common to other agencies and institutions as well. The schools, the farm organizations, and the autonomous local clubs use the same ways to reach their clientele.

The extent of the use of these methods is evident when we discover that in 1951 county Extension agents held 1,616,043 meetings with an average attendance of 38. Volunteer local leaders trained by the

⁷ U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service, *Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics*, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950, pp. 1-51.

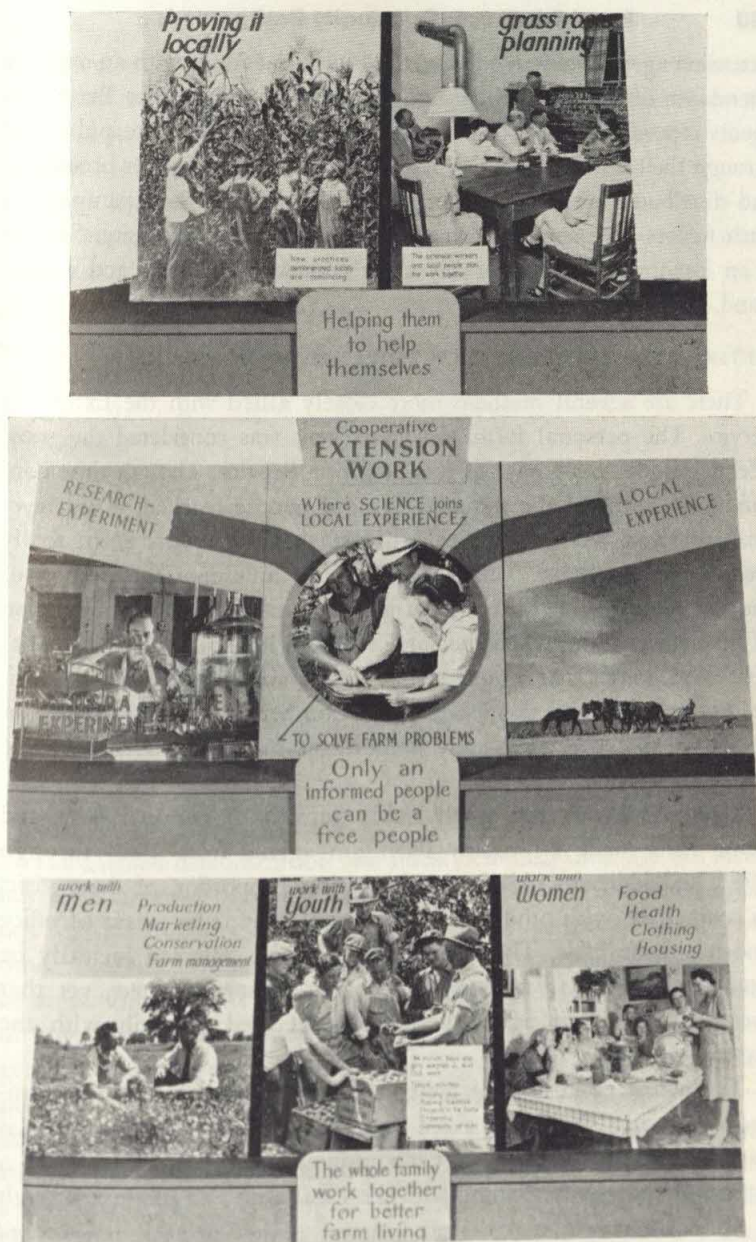


FIGURE 38. The Goals and Methods of the Agricultural Extension Service. (Photo, by G. W. Ackerman, Courtesy of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

Extension agents held an additional 844,415 meetings with an average attendance of 16 for each meeting. During the same year Extension agents reported that 904,541 news articles or stories were published through their efforts. They prepared 165,244 radio talks for broadcast, and distributed over 23 million bulletins, circulars, and pamphlets.⁸ Such figures give some positive indication that the Extension Service is an important agency for any other educators to know and understand.

METHODS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE EXTENSION SERVICE

There are several methods more closely allied with the Extension Service. The personal farm and home visit was considered the most effective in the early days of the Extension Service. Though time-consuming in terms of the numbers of rural people reached, it did have a real place in convincing rural citizenry that the county agent really wanted to help them. This continues to be an important method of the Extension agent, but it is by no means taking as large a portion of his time as it did when the Service was in its infancy. The personal visit is used by other agencies such as the school's Vocational Agriculture program and the Soil Conservation Service, but they have not developed the method as fully nor with as many people as have the Extension agents.

Figure 39 shows the nearly stable number of personal farm and home visits made by county Extension agents from 1925 through 1951, and indicates clearly the decreasing proportion of these visits in comparison with other types of personal contact by means of office and telephone calls. The office and telephone calls can logically be grouped with farm and home visits as a personal contact, yet that means of contact is not a specific method used primarily with the Extension Service.

The use of contests as a method to motivate farm and home improvement is also closely allied with the Extension Service. This is particularly true of the 4-H Club program, which has developed a system of contests beginning with the local club and passing through

⁸U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service, *Extension Activities and Accomplishments, 1951*, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, pp. 3-8.

a series of contest check points at county and state level until the top state and regional winners compete for awards and scholarships announced annually at the National 4-H Club Congress. The Club Congress is held in conjunction with the International Livestock Show in Chicago. Evaluation of the effectiveness of contests as a method is just beginning to come under the scrutiny of those directing extension study and research programs.

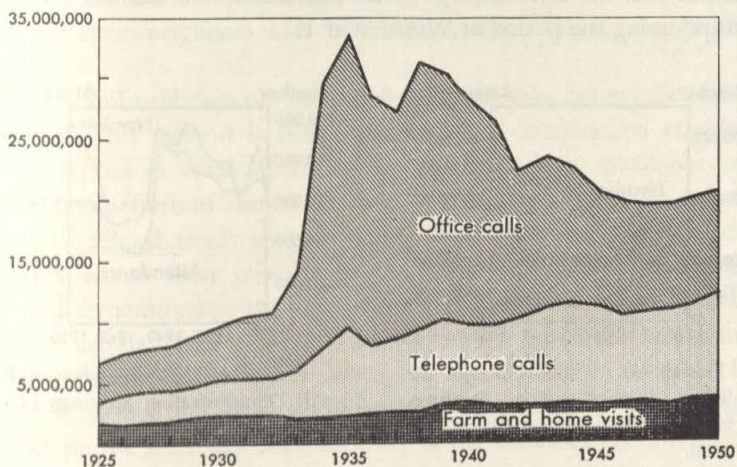


FIGURE 39. Total Personal Contacts Made by County Extension Agents.

The method demonstration and result demonstration are the methods most closely allied with agriculture extension. It was these methods that did more to sell the rural people on the program than any other. By demonstrations, both immediate and long-time results could be seen. Seeing results is an important element leading to acceptance of any program by rural people. The method demonstration is one generally used to show a group the "how" of some recommended practice. The result demonstration is more of a long-range nature and usually requires that comparisons be made. In a method demonstration the county agent might show a group of farmers how to use a new weed killer. In a result demonstration a plot of grain might be used where the weed killer is sprayed on alternate strips throughout the field. The results of that spraying could be seen at various times

during the growing season or at harvest. Figure 40 shows the number of method demonstrations for the same period. It is interesting to note the consistent increase in the number of method demonstrations and the actual decline in number of result demonstrations from 1930–1951. It should be remembered in relation to this point that result demonstrations were the real “stock-in-trade” of the early Extension Service workers. Even with the decline in number, Figure 41 does indicate that the attendance at result demonstrations has not declined except during the period of World War II.

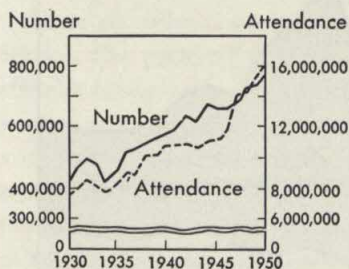


FIGURE 40. The Number of Method Demonstration Meetings Held by Agricultural Extension Agent.

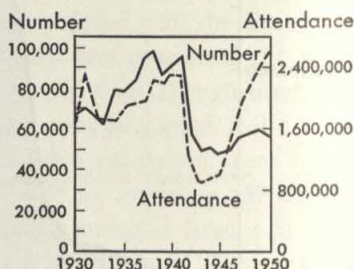


FIGURE 41. The Number of Result Demonstration Meetings Held.

Another method closely allied with the Extension Service is its use of volunteer local leaders, trained in local leadership training meetings, to carry out much of the Extension program. The great use made of the volunteer leader is shown in Figure 42. Here we see that in 1951, 1,173,855 local leaders were engaged in helping Extension agents carry out the objectives of their program. No other single agency, rural or urban, has made such wide and effective use of volunteers in an educational program. Approximately 57 percent of these leaders are women, 36 percent men, and 7 percent are older 4-H Club boys and girls. Seventy-five percent of the leadership work is related to adult education programs and 25 percent is related to the 4-H Club program.

To develop and teach local leaders who can, in turn, teach their neighbors is taking an increasing amount of the Extension worker's

time. In 1930 less than 50,000 such leader-training meetings were held with an attendance of less than 1,000,000. By 1951, the Extension workers held over 150,000 leader-training meetings for a total attendance of nearly 3,500,000. The time spent in such training is considered as the most effective of any work done, because these local leaders in turn held 844,415 meetings in 1951 without any paid Extension worker being present. The attendance at these meetings was over 14 million and points up the recognition by the rural citizens that, if their neighbors can be teachers, they will gladly be the learners.

Tours and field days are also used extensively by county Extension workers. This method is often allied with a combination of other methods, but in rural education it has reached its maximum use through the efforts of county Extension personnel. Many tours include visits to several result demonstration plots, visits to plants in the villages where farm produce is processed, observation of various method demonstrations on such items as grading and preparing produce for market, observation of new varieties of seeds and feeds, and other items that basically are easy to see, yet difficult to assemble. In the tour method the farm people go to a number of educational activities on the same day because many of the activities are too varied to be carried out easily in a central location.

The field day usually is an outdoor event that is held on a county-wide, regional, or even state basis where rural folk come great distances to see the very latest in new equipment and farm crops. The field day normally requires the coöperation of many of the educational agencies of the rural community. The focal point of organization, however, usually rests in the Extension Service.

EXTENSION SERVICE RESULTS

The real results of an educational program are never completely measured. The difficulties of ascertaining results are greater in voluntary programs than they are in such compulsory education activities as the school. Regardless of the difficulties of ascertaining results, every public agency engaged in educational work has a responsibility to measure them as best it can. The tangible evidence such as number

participating in a particular program is easy to obtain. The influence of that program on an individual is more difficult to see, and aspects of educational programs that deal with attitudes, changed values and deeper understandings are more difficult still. The Agricultural Extension Service tends to use the counting of participants and a semi-objective counting of changed practices as its main basis for judging results. Though far from a complete picture of the results of such a comprehensive program, their figures do give a real indication of the scope of the program and a strong hint as to its effectiveness.

Nearly 7 million families are listed as participants in the educational program of the Coöperative Extension Service. It is claimed that, through their contacts with the program, these families make more scientific use of their resources, achieve a better living, and understand more intelligently their responsibilities as citizens. The statistics and figures which follow are the basis for such claims by those in charge of the program. Of the families reached, seven out of ten live on farms and the rest live in rural villages or cities. Three out of every four rural families are regularly reached by county Extension agents. This contact may be direct or through the local volunteer leader.⁹

In the 1950 report of the Extension Service we find, for example, that Extension agents in the United States made over 20 million personal contacts with people they were trying to help. Three million families were reported as making improvements in homemaking and family living. 4-H Club members from 1,400,000 homes carried educational projects under Extension agent guidance. Nearly 230,000 Negro farm families improved their farming practices as a result of work done by 775 Negro county Extension agents. Homemaking practices were improved by 227,000 Negro families. Over 500,000 farmers were aided in the use of fertilizer in pasture improvement programs. By strong leadership in the seven-point cotton program, Extension agents, together with workers from nine other agencies, increased quality and production to the extent that the increased income of the Southern coöperators was nearly two hundred million dollars. Information

⁹ U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service, *The Cooperative Extension Service*, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, August, 1952, p. 3.

on improved potato varieties was given to 243,695 potato growers. These figures could continue through such activities as the growing of small fruits, timber management, disease control, dairy production, crop production, use of new farm machinery, wise marketing of farm produce, and dozens of homemaking activities. Suffice it to say that, measured in terms of agent-coöperator contacts, the influence of the Extension program is immense. Even such an item as parent education programs accounts for 263,000 contacts by Extension Service workers.¹⁰

To assist the reader further in grasping the scope and probable influence of this program, Figures 43 through 74 are provided to show the number of people assisted by Extension agents in different aspects of the total program. These graphs indicate changes during the years 1940 through 1951. With few exceptions, the basic trend of aid is upward during this entire period. One area of exception is represented by Figure 45, which shows a decline in aid on solving credit problems. The factor responsible for the decline is basically an economic one, which made credit easier for farmers to obtain during the postwar period. Figure 62 represents a decline in aid in home butchering, meat cutting, and curing. Here the rapid rise in the number of frozen-food locker plants is basically responsible. The sharpest rise in assistance is indicated in Figures 48, 55, and 70, where increased concern with proper land use, use of electric lights and home electrical equipment, and concern with selection of clothing and textiles coincides with increased interest and need for new soil conservation practices, increasing electrification of farms, and new textiles which have recently been developed.¹¹

TRENDS IN EXTENSION SERVICE DEVELOPMENT

The very nature of the educational job that challenged the first Extension Service workers demanded a dynamic program. The challenge to teach rural citizens has remained and so have the dynamic aspects of the program. The continuous growth experienced from

¹⁰ U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service, *Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics*, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. 1-47.

¹¹ U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service, *Extension Activities and Accomplishments, 1951*, pp. 14-37.

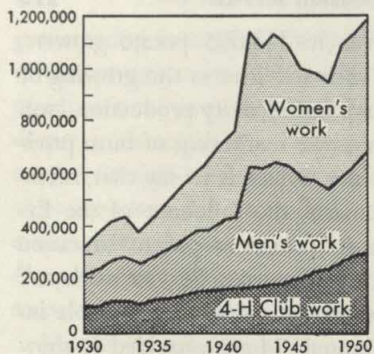


FIGURE 42. Number of Voluntary Local Leaders Engaged in the Agricultural Extension Program.

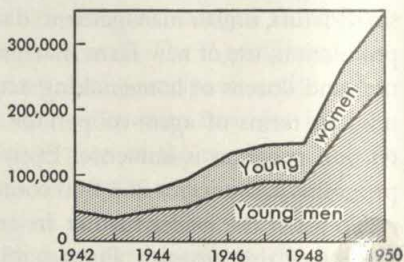


FIGURE 43. Number of Different Young Men and Women Assisted.

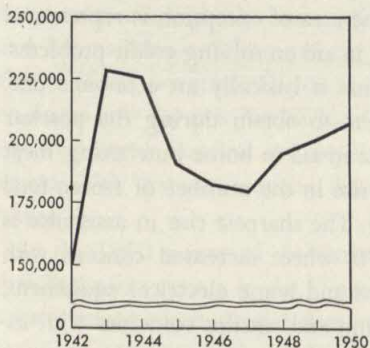


FIGURE 44. Number of Farmers Assisted in Keeping General Farm Records.

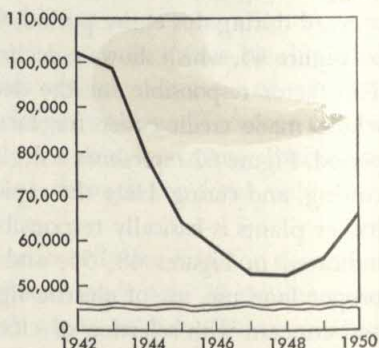


FIGURE 45. Number of Farmers Assisted with Credit Problems.

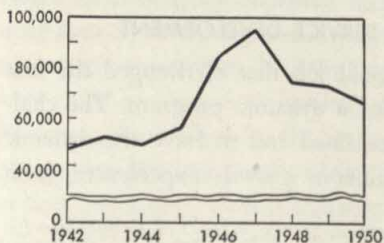


FIGURE 46. Number of Farmers Assisted in Getting Started in Farming or in Relocating.

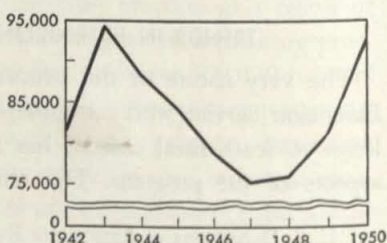


FIGURE 47. Number of Farmers Assisted in Analyzing the Farm Business.

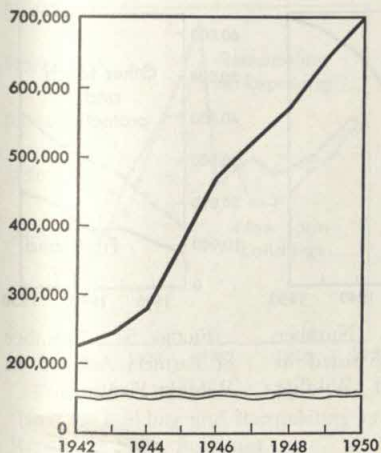


FIGURE 48. Number of Farmers Assisted with Problems of Land Use.

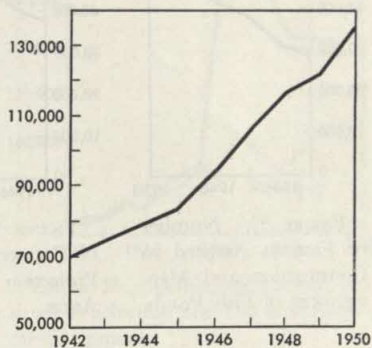


FIGURE 49. Number of Farmers Assisted in Grassing Waterways.

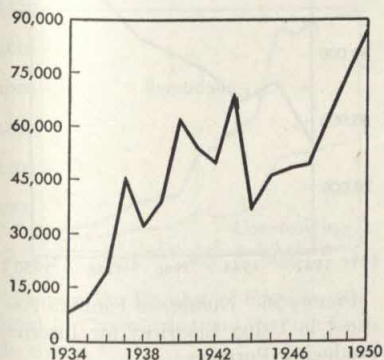


FIGURE 50. Number of Farmers Assisted in Reforesting New Areas by Planting with Small Trees.

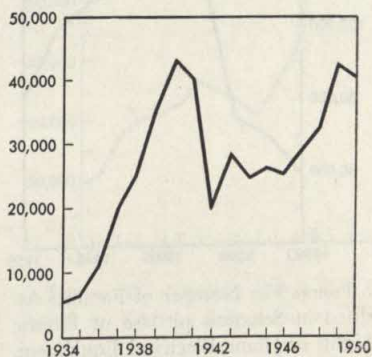


FIGURE 51. Number of Farmers Assisted in Thinning, Weeding, or Pruning of Forest Trees.

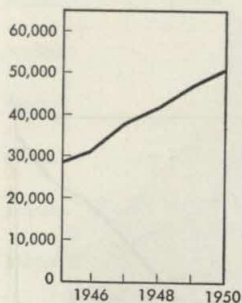


FIGURE 52. Number of Farmers Assisted in Construction and Management of Fish Ponds.

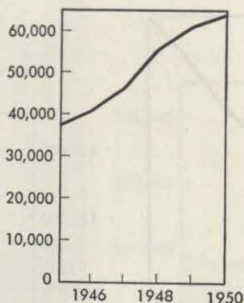


FIGURE 53. Number of Farmers Assisted in Protection of Wildlife Areas.

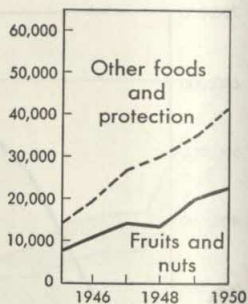


FIGURE 54. Number of Farmers Assisted in Wildlife Plantings.

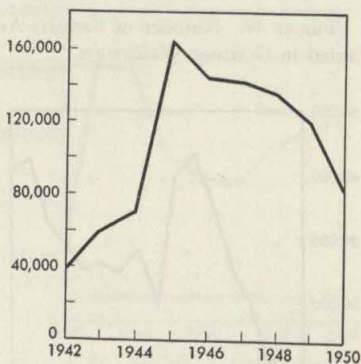


FIGURE 55. Number of Families Assisted in Selection or Use of Electric Lights or Home Electrical Equipment.

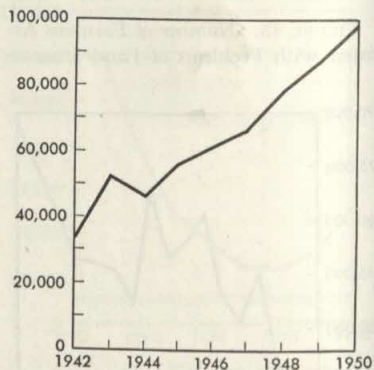


FIGURE 56. Number of Families Assisted in Using Electricity for Income Producing Purposes.

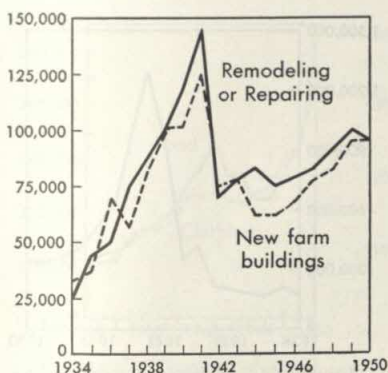


FIGURE 57. Number of Farmers Assisted in Building and Remodeling or Repairing Farm Buildings.

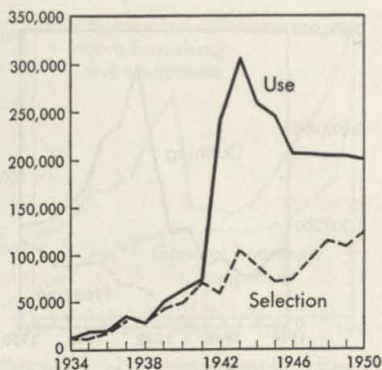


FIGURE 58. Number of Farmers Assisted in Selection and Use of Mechanical Equipment.

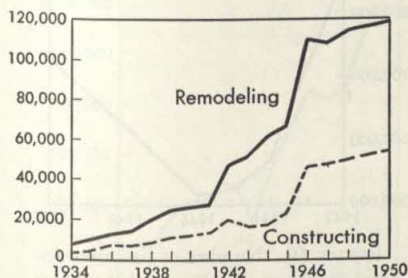


FIGURE 59. Number of Families Assisted in Constructing and Remodeling Dwellings.

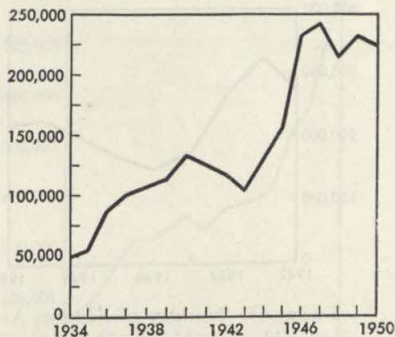


FIGURE 60. Number of Families Assisted in Kitchen Improvement.

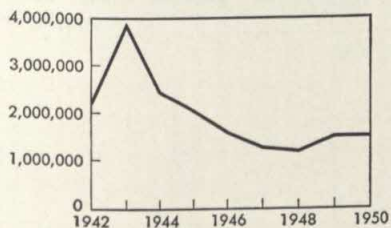


FIGURE 61. Number of Families Assisted in Improving Home Food Supply.

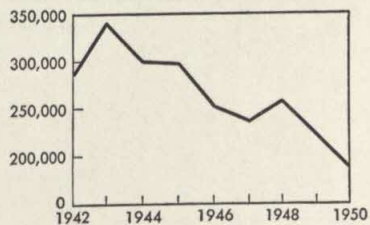


FIGURE 62. Number of Families Assisted in Home Butchering, Meat Cutting, and Curing.

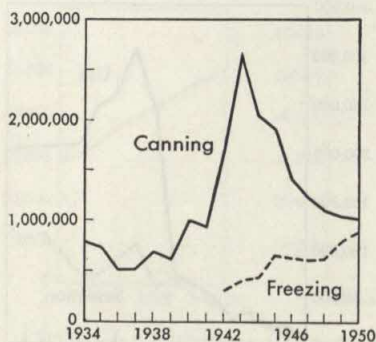


FIGURE 63. Number of Families Assisted in Canning and Freezing Food.

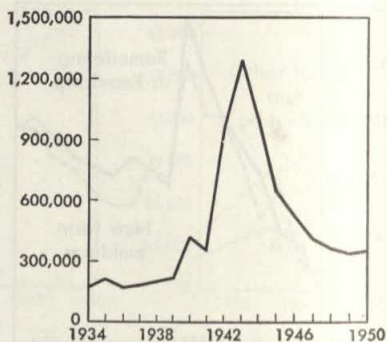


FIGURE 64. Number of Families Assisted in Producing and Preserving According to Food-Supply Budget.

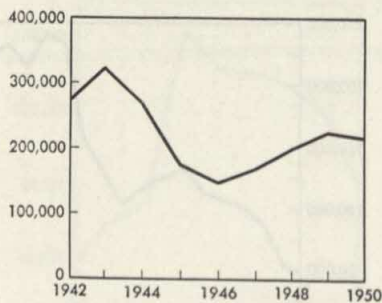


FIGURE 65. Number of Families Assisted with First-Aid or Home Nursing.

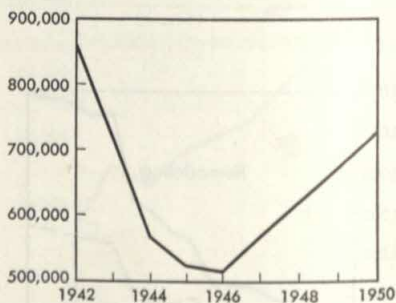


FIGURE 66. Number of Families Assisted in Removing Fire and Accident Hazards.

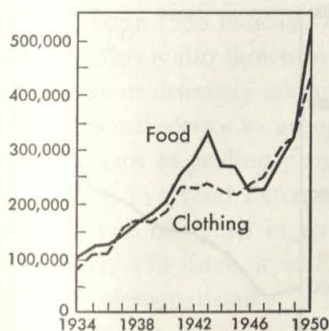


FIGURE 67. Number of Families Helped in Buying Food and Clothing.

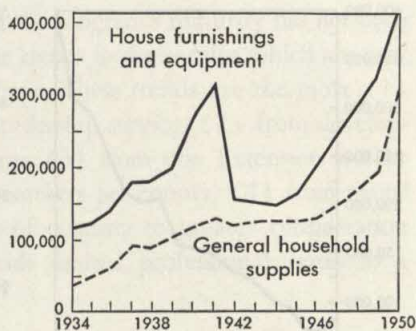


FIGURE 68. Number of Families Helped in Buying House Furnishings and Equipment, and General Household Supplies.

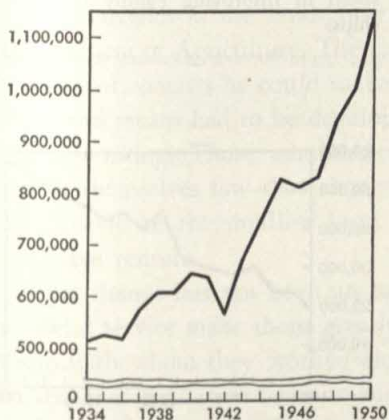


FIGURE 69. Number of Families Assisted with Clothing Construction Problems.

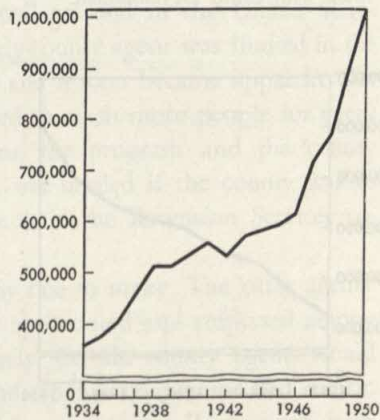


FIGURE 70. Number of Families Assisted with Selection of Clothing and Textiles.

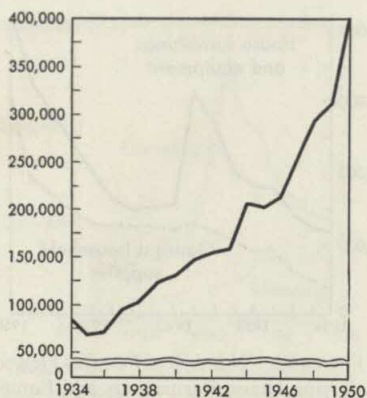


FIGURE 71. Number of Families Assisted with Child Development.

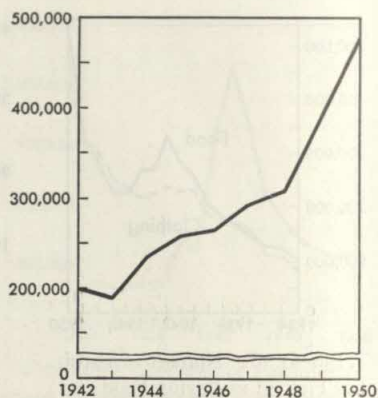


FIGURE 72. Number of Families Assisted in Improving Family Relationships.

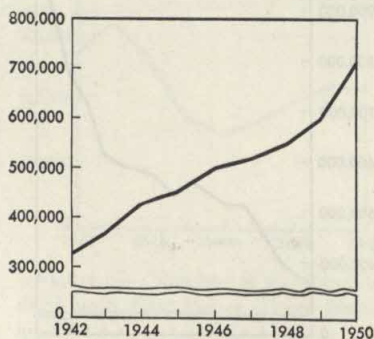


FIGURE 73. Number of Families Assisted in Improving Home Recreation.

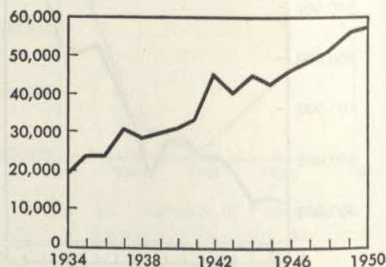


FIGURE 74. Number of Community Groups Assisted with Organization, Activities, or Program.

1914 through 1953 indicates that the program's maturity has not been reached. This is also shown by the trends in the service which are now under way or definitely taking shape. These trends are the move (1) from personal service to group leadership service, (2) from developing programs to guiding programs, (3) from one Extension worker in a county to several Extension workers per county, (4) from major consideration of results in terms of quantity to greater consideration of quality, (5) from a staff with limited professional status to a strong professional staff.

FROM PERSONAL SERVICE TO GROUP LEADERSHIP

The first county agricultural agents had as their basic job the contacting of individual farmers so as to sell the ideas resulting from new discoveries at the land-grant colleges and in the United States Department of Agriculture. The early county agent was limited in the number of contacts he could make, and it soon became apparent that ways and means had to be developed to reach more people for every agent working. Those administering the program and the county agents themselves saw that change was needed if the county was to continue to be the smallest local unit in the Extension Services cooperative venture.

This change has not been an easy one to make. The early agents' personal service made them greatly appreciated and respected among those with whom they worked closely. Certain county agents would be the first persons to come to mind when a coöperator had a farm problem. The agent would be asked for answers to all questions, from the variety of grain to seed to the care of a sick horse. Often the coöperator's expectations went beyond agricultural problems and involved the county agent in problems which might better have been handled by a minister or priest. The number of persons reached by a program so personal in nature was extremely limited, and the service was forced to move to a program in which leadership to groups was of major concern.

This movement began shortly after World War I, increased sharply during the late 1930's, and by 1953 accounted for a majority of the Extension agent's time. This means that today Extension Service per-

sonnel are educational workers whose major contributions come from their influence upon people who come together as a learning group or in training of persons who represent groups and who will in turn contact and train their own groups. The statistics regarding meetings attended and training meetings held clearly point up the significance of this type of educational activity for Extension workers. This change in the nature of the Extension worker's job, from personal service to group leadership service, may be the most significant factor behind the increasing emphasis on better trained Extension personnel.

FROM DEVELOPING PROGRAM TO GUIDING PROGRAM

The change in the nature of Extension work as just reviewed and the fact that it began with a bare minimum of group work are responsible for the change in the Extension worker's job from one of organizing new programs and organizations to one of giving guidance and aid to programs already in existence. In order to meet groups of people, the first county agent had to organize them himself. Today rural people have dozens of organizations to which they belong. The Extension worker must thus locate those agencies and organizations where he can be of most help and where the objectives of the Extension program can best be carried out. Here too, the work of the agent has changed from one of working with a limited number of coöperators to one of working with organizational leadership that has a potential audience at least as large as its membership role. For the agent today, his efforts are not so much toward developing new programs and organizations as they are toward guiding and aiding existing groups in the fulfillment of their own objectives and those of the Extension Service.

FROM ONE TO SEVERAL EXTENSION WORKERS PER COUNTY

The size of the Extension Service operation has increased almost continuously since 1914. Extension work in a county always began with one Extension worker, the county agent. As the program developed, two and sometimes more additional agents were hired. The home demonstration agent and the 4-H Club agent soon became regular county workers in most of the nation's 3042 agricultural counties.

In December, 1951, in the United States there were 9557 Extension agents employed.¹² This indicates that the average number of Extension agents per county is over three. To the county agent has gone the major responsibility for coördinating the work of the several agents in a county. This task has developed during the period of expanding Extension activity and, as in the case of the trend toward working with leaders, it indicates a need for a somewhat different type of Extension worker than was desired during the time of personal service, when only one agent in a county was available to do the job.

FROM QUANTITY TO QUALITY OF RESULTS

The service of the Extension program to rural people increased so rapidly and under such continuous demand for additional service that evaluation of results in terms other than numbers has seemed unnecessary. The size of the program, the number of meetings held, the reports of changed home practices, the changes reported in farming, the sharp increases in new observable practices such as planting hybrid corn and contour farming, have all but overshadowed any need for comprehensive evaluation of results. Since the end of World War II, however, more consideration has been given to ways in which the program can be validly appraised. The leaders in the Extension program are wondering if the reporting of numbers in attendance and reported changed practice is really sufficient evidence upon which to judge a program. The stage is being set for the use of better evaluation methods than heretofore considered necessary in such an action program. The questions to be answered should indicate whether quantity of program is enough. How much consideration should be given to quality of the work done by the agents and their leaders? Extension studies, notoriously general in nature, are moving toward sounder research techniques and procedures. This was pointed out in Director Wilson's 1950 report when he said, ". . . there was a trend in extension studies toward basic research that takes into account the psychological reactions of people and wider coverage of the factors contributing to the successful conduct of extension education."¹³

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹³ U. S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service, *Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics*, p. 54.

FROM LIMITED TO STRONG PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF EXTENSION STAFF

At one time the Extension agent felt secure, and was secure, with knowledge and skills in agricultural and homemaking areas. The change in his work has been of such import that the Extension agent can well be called a "social engineer." Unless he has kept up not only in subject matter but in teaching, supervising, organization, and administrative skills, he soon finds that his county program falls well behind those of his neighbors. Keeping up has meant an overall professionalization of the Extension Service program at the county level. It means a well-balanced training program in college, directed toward Extension work as a profession, or lacking that, demands a comprehensive in-service training program for both old and new Extension workers. These changes have been only partially recognized by those administering and supervising the program. College training programs are just beginning to develop a curriculum for the Extension worker. Most agents still come directly from majors in some specific agriculture or home economics subject area, or from the vocational agriculture or homemaking education curriculum. The in-service training programs are developing more rapidly, however, and each year many conferences, clinics, training meetings, and supervisory sessions are held to help Extension agents keep abreast of developments and pool their experiences. More sabbatical leave is being taken by Extension workers in an effort to improve themselves through graduate study. Four regional Extension schools have been set up to organize programs that will aid in the training of those agents already on the job. These schools, at Cornell University, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Arkansas, and Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College, hold short training sessions every summer and aid in planning programs of graduate study for the Extension staff.

This development of a program of graduate study is likely to do more than anything else to raise the level of the Extension agents to professional status and at the same time provide real opportunities to

evaluate more carefully the entire coöperative Extension program in agriculture and home economics.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Obtain a copy or summary of the year's agricultural extension activities for your county and for your state. These reports are generally available from your county extension office or state college of agriculture.
 2. Write to the United States Department of Agriculture, Extension Service, in Washington and request a copy of their most recent summary of United States extension activities.
- B.
 1. Compare the organization of the extension service in your state with other states in your region.
 2. To what extent has growth of the extension service in your state compared to the nation-wide growth of the service? What factors are responsible for differences that appear?
 3. What objectives of agricultural extension are similar to objectives of other organizations?
 4. Which objectives have been most effectively met? Which need greater effort in the future?
 5. Compare the methods used in agriculture extension with those used in home economics extension.
 6. Visit a county extension office and prepare a list of the most important educational resources available that would be of aid to the rural teacher; the school administrator; the Farmers Union program director; the rural minister; the village librarian.
 7. How many of these people have used the resources of the county extension office during the past year?

CHAPTER 12

The Program of Vocational Training in Agriculture

Vocational training in agriculture was long considered one of the responsibilities of the school. Just as with the development of the Agricultural Extension Service, the belief in the need for a training program did not necessarily mean that such programs would be developed. The growth of both is basically parallel, with strong pressures for the development of the programs, but no marked progress was made in either until federal funds were available to encourage the local communities to take positive action.

The Philadelphia Society, which encouraged the extension of agricultural knowledge to the farmer, likewise believed that farm youth should be trained in agriculture. In 1794 this society appointed a committee "to prepare a plan for establishing a state society for the promotion of agriculture, connecting with it the education of youth on the knowledge of that most important art." This committee made several suggestions as to how this education in agriculture should be accomplished. One such suggestion was that "the county school masters being made secretaries of the county societies, and the school houses the places of meeting, and the repositories of their transactions, models, etc. The legislature may enjoin on these schoolmasters the combination of the subject of agriculture with other parts of education."¹ This proposal is reported to be the first formal effort made in

¹ Rufus W. Stimson and Frank W. Lathrop, *History of Agricultural Education of Less than College Grade in the United States*, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942, pp. 1-3.

the United States to present the claims of school education in agriculture to a legislature.

The study of agriculture in the schools was slow to develop despite the effort of individuals and societies which promoted it. The rural teachers of the early day were primarily concerned with books and the basic skills. The study of nature and science, which was a necessary adjunct to training in agriculture, was also slow in finding its way into the schools. Between 1890 and the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, the demand for agricultural education of all types grew rapidly. The land-grant colleges were becoming more and more concerned with the development of training in vocational agriculture in rural high schools. By 1909 the association of land-grant colleges accepted agricultural education as a permanent part of the public-school system and considered it at all their succeeding meetings.

From 1908 until the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act, there were legislative efforts made in Congress to provide funds for vocational agriculture. It was during this period that the Smith-Lever Act was passed, developing the Agricultural Extension Service considered in chapter 11. The original bills presented to Congress actually provided for both vocational agriculture and Agriculture Extension, but legislative difficulties encouraged proponents to seek separate acts. It is interesting to note that the two separate acts were proposed and acted upon by sessions of Congress made up primarily of the same personnel and that both were signed by President Wilson.

The national acts in vocational agriculture were concerned with both teaching of agriculture of less than college grade to boys in high school and to young farmers and adults who came to school on a part-time basis. The latter did not need to have previous training in agriculture. It is significant that in the Smith-Hughes Act the clause, "who have entered upon" precedes "or who are preparing to enter upon" the work of the farm. With this understanding of the history of the program we can understand its growth to its present point, a significant factor in the training of youth and adults for life on the farm. Special emphasis will be given to the developing program of vocational agriculture in high schools, and also consideration of the institutional on-farm training program which developed following World War II.

VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE IN HIGH SCHOOL

OBJECTIVES

The controlling purposes of the Smith-Hughes Act help establish the general nature of the objectives in the teaching of agriculture. It clearly directs the program: (1) to fit for useful employment; (2) to be less than college grade, and (3) be designed to meet the needs of persons over fourteen years of age who have entered upon or who are preparing to enter the work of the farm or of the farm home.

Specific lists of the objectives of the vocational agriculture program have been devised both in the United States Office of Education and by many supervisors and teacher trainers at state level. The following list of objectives has been most generally accepted:

1. To make a beginning and advance in farming.
2. To produce farm commodities efficiently.
3. To market farm products advantageously.
4. To conserve soil and other natural resources.
5. To manage a farm business.
6. To maintain a favorable environment.²

As can be seen by both the general purposes of the act and the accepted objectives of the program, the aim of the total program of vocational agriculture is preparing students for a vocation or occupation in agriculture. It means taking the farm boy of over 14 years of age, or the young adult or the adult, and training him to be more skillful in the occupation of farming into which he will enter or in which he is now working.

The specific emphasis of most lists of objectives is in the vocational aspects of agriculture. This is in line with the general purposes of the Smith-Hughes Act, yet the development of the program has been such since 1917 that a broader approach now seems necessary. This is recognized by most teacher trainers and supervisors in vocational agriculture, and new developments are continually being made in the relationships between the strictly vocational objects and those of a gen-

² *Educational Objectives in Vocational Agriculture*, Vocational Division Monograph No. 21, U. S. Office of Education, 1940, p. 14.

eral agricultural nature, even with those which are nonvocational in orientation. One such comprehensive list was developed at the University of Illinois in 1939. It includes the following objectives:

- I. To increase the ability of present and prospective *citizens* to:
 1. Share interests and recreations rural in nature
 2. Maintain desirable town-country relationships
 3. Deal ethically with others in agricultural affairs and relationships
 4. Participate in making public policies affecting agriculture and rural life
 5. Decide for or against country life and agricultural occupations
 6. Produce certain agricultural products for their own use
 7. Utilize agricultural products as consumers
 8. Find and use agricultural information and assistance
- II. To increase the ability of present and prospective *farmers* to manage a farm
 1. Plan farming operations
 2. Arrange a satisfactory basis of land tenure
 3. Select a type of farming
 4. Organize and reorganize a farm business
 5. Use farm budgets and records
 6. Produce high-grade farm products economically
 7. Market products
 8. Manage and conserve the soil
 9. Protect against farm risks
 10. Finance a farm business
 11. Utilize the returns from farming
 12. Provide and maintain farm machinery and power equipment
 13. Provide and maintain farm buildings and utilities
 14. Buy and sell farm property
 15. Manage farm labor
 16. Find and develop new sources of farm income
- III. To increase the ability of present and prospective *farmers and their families* to live happily in the country
 1. Use and appreciate the special advantages country life affords
 2. Attain permanence of residence and a sense of security
 3. Provide attractive, comfortable and convenient farm homes and surroundings
 4. Produce a diversified supply of home-grown food

5. Make the farm healthful and safe
6. Maintain desirable relationships with other farm families
7. Realize the possibilities for wholesome and enjoyable use of recreational opportunities the farm and the countryside provide
8. Enjoy rural art and literature
- IV. To increase the ability of present and prospective *farmers and their families* to work with other farmers and their families for the improvement of agriculture and country life
 1. Participate in community organizations of farm people
 2. Share in general farmers' organizations and farmers' cooperatives
 3. Assist in movements for the improvement of:
 - a. Rural churches and schools
 - b. Rural recreation
 - c. Rural health and sanitation
 - d. Rural electrification, communication, and transportation
 - e. Rural planning
 - f. Rural landscaping and architecture
- V. To contribute to the success of persons engaging in or expecting to engage in *agricultural occupations other than farming*
- VI. To contribute maximally to the *general aims of education*:
 1. Command of fundamental processes
 2. Health
 3. Citizenship
 4. Ethical character
 5. Worthy home membership
 6. Worthy use of leisure³

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROGRAM

The program of vocational training in agriculture in high schools must be recognized as being one part in a community's total program. It must also be recognized as being a part within the school system and as such is subject to local conditions and plans. In addition, if it seeks to obtain available federal aids, it is also subject to federal and state supervision and planning. Because federal aids to schools are specified for agriculture and few other vocational areas, it is essential that the organization of the program be understood by rural educators.

³ Reprinted from *Agricultural Education in Community Schools* by Herbert M. Hamlin, by permission of the Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., Copyright 1949 by the Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc.

They need to be aware of the roles of the federal, state, and local level organizations in order to see clearly the place of the vocational agriculture program in a rural community.

FEDERAL ORGANIZATION

In 1917 the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act allotted 3 million dollars annually to the states for aid to school programs in vocational agriculture. These funds were allotted on the basis of the ratio of the rural population of the state to the rural population of the nation. In 1946 the George-Barden Act allotted an additional amount up to 10 million dollars annually to be distributed on the basis of the ratio of the farm population of the state to the farm population of the nation. The change in the basis for allotment from "rural population" to "farm population" coincides with the changes made in the distribution of funds for the Agriculture Extension Service.

The requirements set up in the Smith-Hughes Act, and the role of the federal government in the administration of this Act can be noted in the following excerpt from the original legislation:

That in order to receive the benefits of such appropriations for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, or directors of agricultural education, such education shall be that which is under public supervision or control; that the controlling purpose of such education shall be to fit for useful employment; that such education shall be of less than college grade and be designed to meet the needs of persons over fourteen years of age who have entered upon or are preparing to enter upon the work of the farm or of the farm home; that the State or local community, or both, shall provide the necessary plant and equipment determined upon by the State board, with the approval of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, as the minimum requirement for such Education in schools and classes in the State; that the amount expended for the maintenance of such education in any school or class receiving the benefit of such appropriation shall not be less annually than the amount fixed by the State board, with the approval of the Federal Board as the minimum for such schools and classes within the State; that such schools shall provide for directed or supervised practice in agriculture, either on a farm provided by the school or other farm, for at least six months per year; that the teachers, supervisors, or directors of agricultural subjects shall have at least the minimum qualifications deter-

mined for the State by the State board, with the approval of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.⁴

In considering the implications of the basic law, Hamlin points out the following as being the most significant:

1. Private schools may not be reimbursed.
2. The purpose of the education for which financial aid is given must be definitely vocational.
3. Farmers as well as prospective farmers may be included in reimbursed classes.
4. College classes which give college credit are not reimbursable but colleges may provide non-credit classes which may be reimbursed.
5. Persons under 14 years of age, as some high school freshmen are, may be included in classes if most of the students are 14 years of age or older.
6. The minimum requirements of plant and equipment, maintenance costs and teacher qualifications must conform to or exceed minimum set by the federal government.
7. The interpretation of the law regarding supervised practice is determined by the states beyond the limitation of the six month supervised practice period each year.⁵

Although a considerable amount of freedom of action in regard to the federal vocational education acts is given to state and local level administration, it has always been necessary to maintain the power to make certain basic rulings and interpretations at federal level. Without a floor below which the quality of a program or qualifications of the teachers should not go, the funds from federal sources could be very ineffectively spent. It is for this reason that certain powers to approve state plans and to make rulings and interpretation have been maintained at federal level.

The federal vocational education acts which include the vocational agriculture program are administered by the United States Office of Education, which is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Regional agents are maintained for work with the various states upon request. These regional agents provide for considerable liaison between state- and federal-level administration of the vocational program in agriculture.

⁴ Public Law No. 347, Sixty-Fourth Congress, S. 703, Sec. 10.

⁵ Hamlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-453.

STATE ORGANIZATION

The most comprehensive administrative and supervisory functions of the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts are accomplished at the state level. In addition, the state accomplishes the teacher training functions of the vocational acts. This function may be distributed to colleges for accomplishment, but the responsibility for adequate training of teachers rests at state level.

The state boards for vocational education, regardless of how constituted in the various states, are the chief policymaking body for the federal and state programs being administered. The decisions most closely related to the program in the community are generally made by administrative and supervisory personnel who seek to carry out general state policy. The state staff in agricultural education ascertains that minimum requirements are being met by the community school districts, approves schools for participation in the state and federally aided programs, and reimburses schools for portions of their expense in connection with their vocational offerings in agriculture.

For funds that states receive from the federal government, the states must be sure that they go only to schools meeting minimum federal requirements. However, states may aid programs with state funds from other sources. In this case, federal regulations need not be considered, and the state administration can set its own criteria for the distribution of aids. Even within the framework of federal rulings, the state may establish policies of aid that are selective in nature. It has become common for states to aid new and developing programs to a greater extent than they aid well-established programs. The extent of aid for the various programs varies from state to state, and often the reimbursable items vary from state to state. Certain states may aid the high-school program and the young farmer classes, while others aid the local program only in its adult classes. State rulings may likewise vary as to qualifications of teachers, buildings and equipment provided, length of class periods, minimum class enrollments, and any other aspect of the program that does not conflict with federal regulations.

Hamlin points out nine additional functions often performed by

state staffs. These are functions considered to be in addition to those necessary in the administration of the federal and state funds. They are:

1. Maintaining good relationships with agricultural and educational groups
2. Holding state, district, and section conferences for teachers
3. Editing a state newsletter for teachers
4. Assisting with the management of state contests and other special events for students in vocational agriculture
5. Administering awards given by individuals and organizations for accomplishments by students in vocational agriculture
6. Making studies and preparing publications
7. Spreading good practices from one school to another
8. Assisting schools in employing teachers and assisting teachers in securing employment
9. Helping to evaluate local programs⁶

LOCAL ORGANIZATION

The rural community school has two opportunities open to it in developing a program of vocational training in agriculture. It may choose to apply to the state administration for funds and supervision, or it may choose to develop or maintain a program without assistance or supervision. The fact that a great majority of the agriculture programs are aided and supervised indicates that the federal and state controls do not seriously interfere with the type of program desired by the local community. This is true even where one-fourth or less of the cost of the program is paid from federal sources. The local community can make its own decision whether or not to use federal aids.

In local programs where aid is sought, it becomes necessary to keep accurate and detailed records and reports as required by state and federal administrators of the program. These reports are basic to the decisions to be made as to whether the program meets the various requirements and interpretations of the law at either state or federal level. It is generally agreed that these requirements are minimum and have in only few instances tended to discourage local programs. The aid that state supervisors do give to local programs is often considered

⁶ Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

of sufficient value to maintain the local district in accord with the regulations of the state administration.

The vocational agriculture program is but one part of a school developed by the community to meet its educational needs. The first coordination must of necessity be with the overall administration of the local district; coordination with state and federal programs occurs when local objectives can be more readily achieved by such action.

METHODS USED IN VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE

In the past certain distinct teaching methods were associated with the vocational agriculture program. The early programs accepted almost completely the methods then popular in general education. Following World War I, the emphasis was placed on teaching specific jobs or tasks that "job analysis" showed were part of the farming process. The efforts here were largely text book study and specific "job" practice. Developing at about the same time was the "project method" which has carried through to the present as an important element of some teachers' methods. Many teachers of agriculture have deliberately relegated the "project method" to a minor role because of the difficulty in controlling the student objectives which often turn toward prize winning and contest participation rather than establishment in farming and sound rural citizenship. The "problem method" followed and is probably the single method most widely used today. Hammonds states as recently as 1950: "Most good teachers of agriculture do their teaching partly or wholly on a problem basis."⁷ If "supervised farm practice" could be classified as a single method, it too could well be claimed to be the most popular method in present use. In actual practice, it is the combination of specific methods that form the operating procedure of any teacher, whether in agriculture or English literature. It is a well known fact that certain combinations appear to be most effective in certain areas of work and have a record of effective use. In vocational agriculture the use of specific methods is less likely to occur than in other fields of teaching where the classroom is the only place where the teacher meets his class. The real

⁷ Carsie Hammonds, *Teaching Agriculture*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950, p. 96.

difference in method develops in relation to the objectives of the program and the group to be taught. The vocational agriculture teacher is thus faced with three major teaching situations. The first is in the high-school classroom with potential farmers; the second is with the same individuals or small groups working on a supervised farming program; and the third is with the young farmer and adult groups who are already engaged in farming but are seeking additional knowledge and skills.

The *high-school classroom* situation is the most amenable to methods used in general education and, in spite of warnings of teacher trainers and supervisors, many teachers of agriculture use the classroom as a recitation period to cover textbook materials. It is essential that certain basic subject matters be learned, and often this can be accomplished by routine book and recitation methods. It is generally recommended that these methods be used sparingly. In a vocation as complex as that of agriculture, the teachers usually recognize the need for methods that develop the students in more ways than mere learning of facts or skills. Attitudes toward farm life, understandings related to farm and village coöperation, and comprehension of such complexities as federal farm programs are all essential to the well-trained agricultural worker today. Because of this the problem method, the tour, and the demonstration have been attempted and successfully used. It has become the usual practice for the students in agriculture classes to plant and cultivate a new recommended variety of grain or cotton, or to care for livestock with some new techniques, or feed a newly developed vitamin feed or antibiotic. These projects of the individual pupil are often effectively used for teaching the entire class, by means of tours, demonstrations, and field trips.

The supervised farm practice program, though considered separately, is providing a greater proportion of the experience base for the methods used in the classroom. The problems of farm management can be worked out using the practice program as an example. The discussion method used in the area of beef cattle feeding can bring to the attention of the entire class the experiences of the boys with their own beef cattle in their individual program. The individualization of instruction in almost any area of agriculture will be more

realistic to both boy and teacher because of their experience of working together as a team in the boys' out-of-class practice program.

The methods used by teachers of agriculture in the classroom are more varied and less subject to standardization than are methods for any other group of teachers in rural community schools. The opportunities they have for good teaching in a practical, democratic, and progressive manner are likewise greater than for any other teacher.

The Supervised Farm Practice Program requirement is one of the most significant requirements in the federal acts for vocational agriculture. Because of it, each student must carry out a farm practice program for at least six months each year. This program by its very nature gets the teacher of agriculture involved in individualized instruction. Working with a boy in the development and growth of his program develops an understanding of the student, his parents, and their entire economic enterprise, an understanding that is usually beyond that of any other teacher in school. Supervised farm practice is basically individual instruction. It is work with the boy on his farm, in the classroom, or even before and after regular school hours. The Future Farmers of America organization (FFA) is closely associated with the boys' practice program, and membership in it is dependent upon a going practice program.

Ideal for teaching as this situation is, there are weaknesses in the way certain teachers develop the program. Some practice programs have become nothing more than projects carried out to meet federal requirements rather than efforts which lead to establishment in farming. The overall effectiveness of this program is not questioned, however, and it plays a significant role in the development of rural life.

Work with Young Farmers and Adults is another means by which the teacher of agriculture accomplishes the objectives of the program. In this setting, both the purposes of instruction and the teaching-learning situation differ considerably from the teacher's high-school group. Unlike the agricultural Extension agents who spend considerable time training local leaders, the teacher of agriculture is both teacher and leader. He takes an opportunity to work with relatively small groups of adults for a considerable period of time in an effort to improve them as farmers and as citizens of a rural society.

Some of the customary classroom methods may be used, but basically this situation calls for more informality, greater clarity of objectives, and deeper understanding of the needs of the group with whom he works. The young farmers and adults take part in the program as volunteers. If their needs are not met they will stay home or select other activities to meet other needs. Because of the demands of adult students, the variety of methods used has been great. Greatest emphasis is placed on methods that actively involve the participants. The demonstration, problem-solving discussions, and the tour and individual farm visit have been used effectively by most teachers who have been able to keep a program effective year after year. In developing a rural community through education, the work of the teachers of agriculture with adult and young farmer groups has had a most important role.

THE EXTENT OF THE SCHOOLS' PROGRAM IN AGRICULTURE

The program in vocational agriculture has enjoyed healthy growth from its inception in 1917. This is true of the high-school level program and for the part-time and evening enrollments of young farmers and adults. The enrollment in all types of classes under the direction of the teacher of agriculture is nearing 800,000 people. Figure 75 indicates the level reached in 1952, and the growth trend since 1918. The only interruption in the development of the program was during World War II from 1942 to 1945.⁸

Annual reports of the state boards show similar increases in the number of departments aided, in the provision of more adequate facilities in existing departments, particularly in instruction in farm mechanics. There have been numerous requests for new departments which could not be met because of lack of proper facilities, funds, or qualified teachers. The number of federally aided departments reached 9764 in 1951.⁹ Emphasis on the supervised farm practice program has been more pronounced, and state reports indicate that it is being used increasingly as a basis for class instruction in the school and for individual instruction on the farm.

⁸ *Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education*, Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, 1952, pp. 10-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

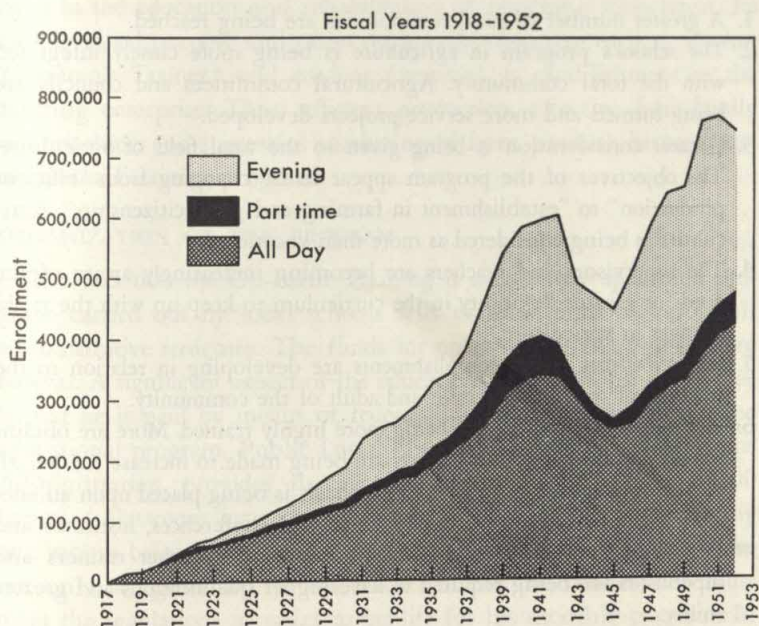


FIGURE 75. Enrollment in Vocational Agriculture Classes by Type of Class. (From *Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education*, Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, 1952, p. 18.)

The Future Farmers of America and the New Farmers of America¹⁰ have been growing continuously. In 1951, 9278 chapters and 374,935 members were participating in the two organizations. The close relationship between these organizations and ongoing instructional programs has been strengthened.

TRENDS IN VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE IN HIGH SCHOOL

Certain trends have been developing in the program of vocational agriculture associated with the school. A number of these are worthy of consideration by all rural educators, since they give a picture of what is to be expected in one of the most important areas of rural development. Seven of the most important to the total field of rural education are:

¹⁰ A separate but similar organization in Negro schools.

1. A greater number of rural communities are being reached.
2. The school's program in agriculture is being more closely integrated with the total community. Agricultural committees and councils are being formed and more service projects developed.
3. Greater consideration is being given to the total field of agriculture. The objectives of the program appear to be changing from "efficient production" to "establishment in farming and good citizenship." Agriculture is being considered as more than vocational.
4. The supervisors and teachers are becoming increasingly aware of the need for greater flexibility in the curriculum to keep up with the rapid changes in agriculture.
5. Greater efforts and accomplishments are developing in relation to the teaching of the young farmer and adult of the community.
6. Teachers of agriculture are being more highly trained. More are obtaining advanced degrees, and efforts are being made to increase the length of the training program. Greater emphasis is being placed upon an adequate practice teaching program. In-service conferences, institutes and workshops are being increased and improved. Teacher trainers and supervisors are being required to have higher qualifications and greater ability.
7. Criteria for evaluating programs of vocational agriculture are being studied, and greater emphasis is being placed on research in the total agriculture teaching program.

INSTITUTIONAL ON-FARM TRAINING PROGRAM

OBJECTIVES

Prior to the conclusion of World War II, the problems involved in the rehabilitation and education of the returning serviceman were being considered by both lay and civic groups in the United States. Farm Congressmen were conferring with their constituents on the best possible program. The result was the passage of Public Law 16 and Public Law 346, which provided the original base for institutional, job, and on-farm training. Public Law 377 later supplemented Public Laws 16 and 346 in an effort to improve both quality of training and administration of the program.

The On-Farm Training program is an arrangement for an intensive and closely supervised educational experience. Its basic purpose is to

help in the education and rehabilitation of returning servicemen. Its closely allied purpose and often the specific objective of both teacher (Veteran's Trainer) and student (veteran) is establishment in the farming enterprise. Thus, efficient production, effective farm-family relationships, and successful marketing of farm produce become part of the total training program.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROGRAM

The fact that the On-Farm Training is a federally sponsored program carried out by local schools tells us something of its overall administrative structure. The funds for operation of the program are federal. A significant aspect of the educational program for the trainee is that he is paid by means of federal funds for participating in the educational program. Public Law 377, as interpreted by the Veterans Administration, provides that trainees receive a minimum of 200 hours of classroom instruction per year, with the instruction in any one month being no less than 8 hours. These federal regulations are not only of significance to the teacher but to the trainee who must meet the regulations in order to qualify for his monthly payment. In addition the law provided that 100 hours of individual instruction be given to each trainee per year and that at least 50 hours of the 100 hours of individual instruction be on the trainee's farm. All or part of the remaining 50 hours could be used in instruction in small groups. It is specified that each trainee be visited two times each month by the veteran's trainer. These federal requirements predetermine that the educational program be very intensive, with an established maximum enrollment of twenty-five for any one veteran's trainer.

The administration of the program within a state may be carried out by either of two methods. The Veterans Administration (Federal Agency) may contract with an individual school district for an on-farm program. In this case the local community school is responsible directly to the Veterans Administration and there is no state level organizational structure. The alternative to this system provides that the Veterans Administration negotiate a single contract with a state approved agency, and each school is then responsible to the approval agency rather than directly to the Veterans Administration. The ap-

proval agency in most states is the state board of vocational education. In a program as intensive and as expensive per student as the on-farm program has been, the controls demanded by the federal level organization have not been considered excessive. The nearly one million farm veterans who have participated in the program generally recognize that the controls have been necessary in order to safeguard the money spent. The cost of the program is demonstrated in the case of West Virginia where, in the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1951, enrollments in the On-Farm Training program were 1983, at a cost from federal, state, and local sources of \$740,294. During the same year 22,807 boys were enrolled in the Vocational Agriculture classes at a total cost of \$470,200.¹¹

METHODS USED IN ON-FARM TRAINING

The nature of the regulations made by the Veterans Administration under Public Law 377 govern the framework within which the basic methods of the veteran trainer must operate. Specifically the veteran is to be educated (trained) by individual on-farm sessions with the veteran's trainer, by small group on-farm sessions with the veteran's trainer, and by classroom instruction with other veterans under the direction of the veteran's trainer. The emphasis placed upon the on-farm aspects of the program and the limitation of no more than twenty-five veterans in a class have done much to develop methods of instruction that might otherwise have been neglected. The on-farm nature of much of the instruction has encouraged concentration on the area of keeping farm and home records, making short-time and long-time farm and home plans, the close guidance and counseling of an instructor with reference to reading materials (bulletins, texts, reference books, etc.) that are desirable in the particular situation in which the veteran operates, and an acquaintanceship between student and teacher that breaks down any barriers that may have existed in the mind of an adult who has received formal education only in a classroom unit.

The emphasis on small group on-farm instruction encouraged field trips by the trainer and a careful of his trainees. The trips were often to state college experimental plots; to demonstration plots within the

¹¹ *Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards for Vocational Education*, pp. 27, 90.

county; to fairs, shows and sales; to farms within the community; to farms of other trainees in the class; and to commercial firms that use agricultural products.

The classroom instruction time was ample to give the veteran's trainer an opportunity to use other than lecture methods of instruction. The intimate knowledge gained during individualized instruction tended to break down any formality that might have otherwise been maintained in the classroom. Considerable emphasis has been placed by trainers on class demonstration, laboratory activities, discussion of vital farm problems and individual reports, as well as the usual question and answer periods and lecture. In a program requiring both individual and group instruction, the practical and vocational aspects of the teacher's objectives can be easily directed to specific and experienced activities of the student.

RESULTS OF THE ON-FARM TRAINING PROGRAM

The measurement of educational results in a program where those being educated are paid to attend class may be considerably different in some respects from measurement of a voluntary adult program. However, the basic frame of reference for any measurement is the degree to which objectives of the program have been reached. With the major objective of the on-farm training program being that of helping the veteran become successfully established in farming, it is only fair to ask how well this has been accomplished. A number of surveys of results of the veteran's training program have been made, and the report of the coöperative project in the Central Region indicates clearly to what extent the veteran thinks he has moved toward the objective of the program. Table 19 shows that in the Central Region 94.6 percent of the randomly selected trainees from each state believed that the on-farm training program helped them to be better established in farming.

It might well be considered that the age group generally dealt with in the on-farm program would be becoming established in farming even if no program existed. The trainees themselves, however, revealed that they felt that their progress would have been less had they not been involved in the program. Eighty-five percent of those trainees

questioned in the Central Region Study felt that they could not have made as much progress in getting started in farming without institutional on-farm training, even if they had received the regular subsistence allowance.

An additional item of significance is that sixty-four percent of the trainees in the Central Study indicated that they would be willing to

TABLE 19. Extent to Which Trainees Are Better Established in Farming as a Result of the Program by States (percentages)

States	Response			No Response
	Yes	No	Uncertain	
Indiana	90.6	3.0	5.3	1.0
Iowa	93.6	0.3	6.0	0.0
Kansas	94.6	1.3	3.0	1.0
Kentucky	95.3	1.6	1.6	1.3
Michigan	94.6	0.6	3.3	1.3
Minnesota	93.3	0.6	5.0	1.0
Missouri	94.6	1.0	2.6	1.6
Nebraska	95.3	0.0	3.3	1.3
North Dakota	90.3	1.3	7.0	1.3
Ohio	94.3	1.3	3.6	0.6
Wisconsin	94.6	0.6	4.3	0.3
Median	94.6	1.3	3.6	1.0

SOURCE: Central Regional Conference on Research in Agricultural Education, *Report of the Cooperative Study of Institutional On-Farm Training in the Central Region*, Danville, Ill., Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1951, pp. 28-29.

participate in an agricultural education program without subsistence pay. Likewise forty-eight percent indicated they would like *much* advice and counsel from an institutional on-farm training instructor after completion of their training period, and forty-nine percent would like some advice and counsel.¹²

In a comprehensive nation-wide survey of the institutional on-farm training program, the results were highly related to those of the study in the Central states. In summarizing the national study, the Committee on Research in the Education of Farm Veterans present these important outcomes:

1. Veterans' farms increased in size in 1950 over 1949, in all regions, by approximately 6 per cent.

¹² Central Regional Conference on Research in Agricultural Education, *Report of the Cooperative Study of Institutional On-Farm Training in the Central Region*, Danville, Ill., Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1951, pp. 30-32.

2. Production rates of corn, hay, wheat, tobacco, and cotton on veterans' farms exceeded United States rates in 1949. A general increase in production rates on veterans' farms occurred in 1950.
3. There was a decided increase in animal units on veterans' farms in all regions from 1949 to 1950, and a decrease in number of veterans owning small numbers of animals.
4. Rates of production for nearly all major meat animals on veterans' farms increased considerably from 1949 to 1950.
5. Rates of production for major farm animals other than meat animals on veterans' farms fluctuated from 1949 to 1950, but showed rather substantial gains in the most important classes.
6. Farm veterans in all regions in the United States increased their productive labor on farms from 1949 to 1950; small farm business declined in number.
7. Approximately three-fourths of the farm veterans increased their assets substantially from 1949 to 1950; the average increase for all veterans was \$1,323.
8. There was a decided increase in the net worth of farm veterans throughout the United States from 1949 to 1950; the average increase for all regions was approximately \$1,200.
9. Labor incomes of veterans increased in all regions from 1949 to 1950 by more than 30 per cent.
10. Veterans were advancing in tenure status in all regions. More than 77 per cent of the veterans were owners or became owners from time of enrollment to June, 1951.
11. Ninety-nine per cent of the veterans liked farming. Happiness in home and liking for community were at this same high level.
12. There was a close agreement among veterans in the four regions with regard to their general outlook on the progress in establishment. Their outlook on the present level and future possibilities was, on the whole, favorable and optimistic.
13. More than 70 per cent of the veterans had a house on the operated farm.¹³

Cooper's comprehensive study of 724 trainees in southeastern Wisconsin shows that they were responsible for an increase in crop yields, animal produce yields, efficiency of production, net worth, and labor

¹³ *Education of Veterans in Farming*, American Vocational Association Research Bulletin No. 5, Washington, D. C., American Vocational Association, Inc., 1952, pp. 61-62.

income during a two-year training period. Table 20 shows that this increase is consistent throughout the major farming enterprises studied. Since establishment in farming is largely an economic venture, these data on the production records of the trainees show important progress in a short period of time.

TABLE 20. A Comparison of the 1948 and 1949 Levels of Production for 724 Self-Employed Farm Trainees Enrolled in the Veterans On-Farm Training Program in Wisconsin

	1948	1949	Increase or Decrease
<i>Average crop yields</i>			
Ear Corn—bu. per acre	52.3	63.6	11.3
Oats	48.6	50.8	2.2
Hay—tons per acre	2.13	2.49	.36
Silage—tons per acre	9.39	11.05	1.66
<i>Average animal products yield</i>			
Pounds butterfat per cow	269.99	289.15	19.16
Pounds pork per litter	1227	1533	306
Eggs per hen	163	172	9
<i>Efficiency of production</i>			
Av. number of livestock units per man	23.5	26.8	3.3
Av. cash income per crop acres	\$60.52	\$63.90	\$ 3.38
Net worth of group (av.)	\$6103.00	\$7225.00	\$1122.00
Labor income (av.)	\$1122.00	\$1151.00	\$29.00

SOURCE: Melvin W. Cooper, *Techniques and Procedures Employed in the Institutional On-Farm Training Program*, Madison, Wis., Wisconsin State Board of Vocational and Adult Education, 1951, p. 124.

Reports throughout the United States have shown general acceptance of this type of concentrated educational training program for the returned veteran. Its progress toward the overall objective of establishment in farming has been ascertained. Thus it is likely that similar programs will be encouraged following any large-scale return of farm veterans from military service.

TRENDS IN INSTITUTIONAL ON-FARM TRAINING

The success of the on-farm program has established it as a worthy venture and, should large-scale demobilization of military services occur from time to time, it is safe to assume that the present program

will be continued or a similar program developed. The trends in the present program are noted and indicate the developments likely as the program continues. The major trends are:

1. The number of trainees is declining and will continue to decline until the present program expires on July 25, 1956.
2. There is an increasing pressure for a revised but basically similar program to be adopted which will include veterans who have participated in the service since World War II. Part of this plan has been accomplished. This will tend to level off the decline which began in 1950-1951.
3. As the program trains fewer veterans, it will be possible to shift more of the teaching load to regular high-school vocational agriculture teachers. These teachers will be able to incorporate a certain number of veterans into their regular young-farmer class responsibilities.
4. The demands for regular nonsubsidized on-farm instruction for young farmers is increasing; the general conclusion becomes, "If it is desirable for the veteran it should be available to all young farmers."
5. The decline in number of veterans in the program is relieving the shortage of good vocational agriculture teachers. In many cases the teacher standards are being raised by the competition for positions.
6. The success of the on-farm training for young farmers is beginning to influence the training of vocational agriculture teachers. More emphasis is being placed on training in teaching young-farmer and adult classes.
7. As studies such as that of the Central Region Report are distributed to supervisors and teacher trainers, it is likely that real progress in the methods of working with young farmers will be accomplished. The on-farm instruction has been notably successful for a new program and, as reasons for its effectiveness are studied, the results are likely to influence the entire field of vocational training in agriculture.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A. 1. How are the programs of vocational agriculture and veterans' training supervised in your state?
2. What is the extent of the vocational agriculture program in your state? Obtain copies of state reports from your department of public instruction or board of vocational education.
3. Arrange with a teacher of agriculture to survey the records of his students' supervised farm practice program. What do they tell you

of the extent of the students' work? the investment necessary? the relationships with the teacher of agriculture?

- B. 1. What are the relationships between methods used by vocational agriculture teachers and those used by county agents?
2. Would the qualifications of a good vocational agriculture teacher differ from those of a veteran's trainer? a county agent?
3. Federal direction of the vocational agriculture program is in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; that of Agricultural Extension in the Department of Agriculture. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this arrangement?
4. What factors were related to the development of agricultural extension and vocational agriculture during the same decade?
5. Arrange for a county agent, a vocational agriculture teacher, and a veterans trainer to meet your class and discuss their programs with you.

CHAPTER 13

The Big Three: Farm Bureau, Farmers Union, and the Grange

In the early days of American agriculture, nearly 90 percent of all citizens were closely associated with the land. Most government leaders were farm leaders as well, and there was little need for large farm organizations to help represent the farmers' point of view on a state or national scale.

Beginning shortly after the Civil War and continuing thereafter, the role of the farmer in American life changed rapidly. Since that time his economic position has become less secure and his social position has declined. Advantages swung to the newly developing urban areas which soon accounted for the bulk of the nation's wealth. Farm people began to feel the need for organizations to represent their interests and to educate their own groups to the changes taking place. Thus began the trial and error of organizing and maintaining organizations for the education and representation of the farmer.

There are three major farm organizations which were organized and have persisted. They are the Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union, and the Grange. Their primary purpose is to help strengthen rural life; the way in which they were organized and developed, their specific objectives and purposes, their meeting form, and the general nature of the methods used to obtain their objectives are different. In addition, there are certain distinguishing characteristics of each that to some extent influence those rural citizens who have an opportunity to become members or who seek membership. Each of the organiza-

tions will be viewed in terms of the organization, purposes, meeting form, educational methods used, and its distinguishing characteristics.

THE FARM BUREAU

ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSES

The Farm Bureau Federation is the most recent of the three big farm organizations. It began with scattered county groups in 1913. Officially recognized as the first unit was the one formed in Broome County, New York. Most early county groups were closely associated with the developing Agricultural Extension Service. The County Farm Bureau became the local sponsoring organization for a national program. Early Farm Bureaus contributed substantially to the financial support of the educational program developed under the leadership of the county agents. Although it would have been possible for other farm organizations to provide financial support, the lead was taken by the Farm Bureau and partly relinquished only under stricter regulations from the U.S.D.A. Some early county agents were overzealous in their reciprocal aid to the Farm Bureau, thus bringing criticism from other farm organizations that wanted equal treatment under a federally sponsored program. At the present this close relationship with the Agricultural Extension Service exists in several states, while in others there is no direct tie between the Extension Service and the Bureau. Figure 76 shows the relationship that exists between the two organizations in Illinois. Illinois has the largest Farm Bureau membership of any state and is generally considered by the Bureau to have one of the best structural arrangements with the Extension Service. The opposite of Figure 76 would be in a state such as Wisconsin, where there would be no direct ties between the two organizations.

Between 1913 and 1919, the movement to organize county Farm Bureau Federations swept the country. In February of 1919, a meeting was held by representatives of the bureaus of twelve states to consider the advisability of forming a national organization. In October of 1919 the American Farm Bureau Federation was formed in Chicago with representatives present from 28 states. The objectives of the proposed federation were: "(1) to provide the nation with some sane

organization thoroughly representative of Agriculture throughout the entire United States, which might speak for the farmers of the entire country; (2) to take advantage of nationwide organization—the Farm Bureau—which promises great possibilities of usefulness in developing a program which will reach the entire country and which will bring into action the strongest farmers of the nation.” After some revision the official statement of the purposes was agreed upon in 1920. It read, “to develop, strengthen, and correlate the work of the State Farm Bureau Federations of the Nation; to encourage and promote cooperation of all representative agricultural organizations in every effort to improve facilities and conditions for the economic production, conservation, marketing, transportation and distribution of farm products; to further the study and enactment of constructive agricultural legislation; to advise with representatives of public agricultural institutions cooperating with farm bureaus in the determination of nation-wide policies, and to inform farm bureau members regarding all movements that affect their interests.”¹

By the end of 1920 there were farm bureau organizations in 37 states. By 1952 there were 46 state organizations and an additional organization in Puerto Rico.

The governing body of the American Farm Bureau Federation is made up of the voting delegates selected by the state organizations. Every state with 500 or more members for which it has paid its dues is entitled to one voting delegate. A state is entitled to an additional voting delegate for each additional 15,000 members, or major portion thereof, for which it has paid dues.

The Board of Directors of the American Farm Bureau Federation controls the business of the organization subject to the policies adopted by the voting delegates and set forth in official resolutions. The United States is divided into four regions (Northeast, South, Midwest, and West), each of which is entitled to three members of the board, plus an additional director for each 50,000 members, up to a maximum of five board members. The membership of each region is now sufficiently large so that each region has its five board members.

¹ Orville Merton Kile, *The Farm Bureau Through Three Decades*, Baltimore, Waverly Press, 1948, pp. 47–64.

The annual convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation is held in odd-numbered years in Chicago where their general offices are located. In even-numbered years annual meetings are held somewhere within each of the regions.²

The Farm Bureau local group is often organized on a county rather than a community basis. The reasons for this broad membership are many, but most significant is the fact that the early organizations were closely allied with the county extension office. Thus the important decisions as to their participation and aid in financing educational programs was a county-level decision. There are, however, a number of states where community farm bureaus are the most popular, while in Iowa many locals are on the basis of the township (town). Basically, the organization is quite loosely constructed. The programs in two adjoining counties may take clearly different approaches to the same problem. The county federations often are at variance with state or national policy. The controls exerted by the central offices are considerably weaker than one would find in a more fraternal type of organization.

The great bulk of Farm Bureau members are farmers who join on a family basis. The membership, however, is open to anyone who will pay dues. Often it is sound rural public relations for the village businessmen to join the county or especially the community unit of the Farm Bureau. The Farm Bureau has been criticized for this policy by those who feel that it should be an organization for farmers only. The advantages of an open membership policy have been consistently upheld by the Federation and perhaps this is one of the reasons that the Farm Bureau has grown to be the largest and most influential of the Big Three.

The Associated Women of the Farm Bureau Federation is an auxiliary of the parent organization and for the most part represents the same families. Its members in the United States number nearly 500,000. Where the general purpose of the Farm Bureau is "to promote, protect and represent the business, economic, social and educational interests of the farmers of the nation; and to develop agriculture," the objectives of the Home Bureau are stated in their Creed which follows:

² Mrs. Charles N. De Shazo, *What Is Farm Bureau?* Chicago, American Farm Bureau Federation, 1951, pp. 4-5.

THE HOME BUREAU CREED

To maintain the highest ideals of home life; to count children the most important of crops; to so mother them that their bodies may be sound, their minds clear, their spirits happy, and their characters generous;

To place service above comfort; to let loyalty to high purposes silence discordant note; to let neighborliness supplant hatreds; to be discouraged never;

To lose self in generous enthusiasms; to extend to the less fortunate a helping hand; to believe one's community may become the best of communities; and to cooperate with others for the common ends of a more abundant home and community life;

This is the offer of the Home Bureau to the homemaker of today.³

In terms of action taken, the purposes of the Farm Bureau clearly follow their general aims expressed in creeds and statements of purpose. They have coöperated with the Agricultural Extension Service more completely and with more enthusiasm than any other farm group. They have in their local, state, and national organizations dealt directly with public problems affecting agriculture. They have participated actively in discussion relative to legislative action. They have actively engaged in activities considered essential to help pass or defeat certain legislative proposals which they deemed desirable or undesirable to American agriculture. They have helped organize coöperative buying and selling organizations. They have helped correct the abuses of handlers and processors of farm crops, developed means of obtaining better credit facilities, and participated actively in the promotion of more efficient means of marketing agricultural production.

MEETING FORM AND EDUCATIONAL METHODS

Farm Bureau meetings vary from state to state and from county to county. In general their purposes, as previously listed, can be carried out in any way that the local group decides. This means that in some, well-planned educational meetings follow whatever official business is necessary to carry on the activities of the unit; in others, the part of the meeting following official unit business is no more than a social hour or a time to exchange gossip and stories. The successful units

³ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1942, p. 521.

throughout nearly four decades of the Farm Bureau existence have been the ones with general purposes translated into local action programs. Where delegates and representatives and the majority of members in the local unit are engaged in adult education programs to raise the level of agriculture or of the agricultural worker, there are the units that are looked to as leaders in America's largest farm organization.

The educational methods used by local units to accomplish their goals have developed considerably from the day when having an outside speaker do the work was considered sufficient. In states where the local bureaus are organized for a community or a township, the educational programs of the local have developed to the greatest extent. In states with one county group as the local unit, the meetings are usually not held as often, and more emphasis is placed upon getting someone in to speak rather than using a variety of methods to meet the objectives of the group.

Being closely associated with the Extension Service, the Farm Bureau has accepted many of its methods for accomplishing educational jobs. Group discussion meetings, method demonstrations at the local level, result demonstrations on the farms of Bureau members (who have often been the first to coöperate with Extension), and tours by the membership of the local have been successful and widely used. Often the Home Bureau has been the core group in a township through which the country home agent makes her contacts. Trainees from the local meet with other women from other groups to learn a specific approved home practice. The trainees in turn go back to their group and pass the information and ideas along. In states or counties where no Home Bureau exists, the home agent has the additional job of organizing some kind of a receptive local audience before her work can get under way.

The strength of the state federation is usually sufficient to enable each state organization to employ a staff to help carry out the objectives of the Bureau at state level. Many of these jobs are to a great extent educational, in spite of their promotional nature. Likewise, in counties where the membership is large, the Bureau funds are sufficient to employ their own educational director, executive secretary, or

demonstrator. In these cases, the job is largely educational except during the annual membership drive when promotional activities are most significant.

In addition to educational methods used at local levels, there are activities of the state bureaus and the American Federation that are designed to educate the member. Many states have their own weekly or monthly newspaper, which devotes considerable space to the promulgation of new farm and home ideas and suggestions to local groups on ways of meeting their educational goals. Nationally, there is published *The Nation's Agriculture*, which is controlled in both advertising and editorial policy by the American Farm Bureau. This magazine gives the national office a monthly contact with all members and has been most effective in developing common positions on problems of national concern. In an organization with no direct controls over members, the informal controls accomplished by common reading material have proved effective.

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FARM BUREAU

In comparing the Farm Bureau with others of the Big Three, the general conclusion would be that it is a more conservative group politically. Since legislative activity is one of the important aspects of the Farm Bureau, this characteristic is significant. Conservatism on legislative and political issues has by no means meant a conservative attitude toward letting its viewpoint become known. The vigor and success of the Bureau in legislative activity has been phenomenal, and it continues to be the most potent single voice of the American farmer.

The program and views of the Farm Bureau have tended to appeal to the middle- and better-class farmers to a larger extent than to those in the lowest class. This is often denied by the representatives of the Bureau, on the basis of their experience in some counties where almost every farm family is a member, regardless of social or economic level. The appeal of the Bureau to the better and often wealthier farmer can be seen best in counties or states where two or three of the farm organizations exist side by side.

The most important characteristic of the Farm Bureau in the past

has been its close tie and working relationship with the Agricultural Extension Service. Though this is no longer so close a relationship in all states as it once was, the Farm Bureau and the Extension Service do maintain very close working relationships even if their official ties on joint financing are broken. The Bureau has been the most important friend the Extension Service has had throughout the years of its development.

THE FARMERS UNION

ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSES

In partial reaction to the panic of 1897, farmers throughout the United States were seeking security in joint action. At Point, Texas, Newton Gresham, a country editor who had helped organize several local farmer groups, founded the first Farmers Educational and Co-operative Union in 1902. His basic beliefs that farmers would not stay organized out of desperation, but needed to be educated to the problems affecting their economic security, has been maintained throughout the more than fifty years of the organization. Gresham's beliefs in the necessity for coöperative marketing of farm products has been continued, until some of the largest coöperatives in the nation carry a history of initial organization by the Farmers Union. After 1902, the Union spread rapidly throughout the entire south and reached its maximum membership in 1907. The membership gradually declined from then until 1940, when a general trend toward increasing membership overtook all of the Big Three. By 1921, however, there had been considerable shift in membership from the Cotton to the Grain Belt. The bulk of the Union's membership is now centered in Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Nebraska, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Kansas. In addition to the nearly one-quarter million farm families now members of the Union, there are more than an equal number of families associated with coöperative associations sponsored by the Union.

The Farmers Union is organized on a family basis with every member of the family sixteen years of age or older eligible to vote on issues considered by the local. Only the head of the family is required to pay dues for the entire family to join. The Farmers Union member-

ship is limited to farmers, teachers, ministers, and editors who are interested in the preservation of family-type farming and better living conditions for farmers and industrial workers. The Farmers Union has little in common with trade unions, although consideration is often given to some of their common objectives. There have been few changes in the organizational structure of the Farmers Union since its inception. The early locals in the South had considerable ritual associated with their meetings. This gradually disappeared as the membership center shifted north and westward. Though the Farmers Union is a secret organization, it no longer emphasizes ritual and has no degrees.

Where the Farm Bureau has emphasized almost complete coöperation with youth and adult groups sponsored by the Agricultural Extension Service, the Farmers Union has developed its own youth program. The Junior Educational Program has been developed especially for those members of Farmers Union families under 16 years of age. This younger group carries membership cards in the organization, helps out in meetings of the local and participates in classes, camps and group projects. The emphasis with the juniors in the Farmers Union is on coöperation and leadership development.

The local in the Farmers Union is generally on the basis of a community or neighborhood. Local unions may be organized and chartered by a state or territorial union upon the showing of not less than five dues-paying members representing as many families. Three or more local unions may organize a county union which may obtain its charter by application to the state or territorial union. If a state has no fewer than five thousand dues-paying members, a state charter is granted to a state union by majority vote of the board of directors of the national union.

Action officials in the local include the publicity director, education director, junior leader, coöperative director, legislative director, recreation director, and organization director. The county union usually has a similar set of action officials as well as the usual officers of any organization. County unions often receive part of their educational funds from coöperatives in the area and are thus able to develop worthwhile county educational projects, and often aid in the camp and activities program for the juniors.

The state union is organized with its regular state officers and a board of directors which varies from state to state. Most states have in addition several of the action officials common to the locals, including an education and recreation director. The national union maintains its headquarters and headquarters staff in Denver. There is an additional office in Washington which houses the legislative staff. The director of education and staff operate throughout the United States, participating in conferences, assisting states with their leadership camps and schools, and helping to carry on the National Training Institute and All-States Camp.

The symbol of the Farmers Union is the triangle, representing the Education, Legislation, and Cooperation sides of the Union's Program. Gladys T. Edwards has pointed out that "peace, abundance, security and freedom for every human being"⁴ are the goals of the Farmers Union. The basic principles of the philosophy of the Farmers Union have been expressed by its president, James G. Patton, as being:

First: The dignity and worth of the individual is paramount in a democratic, peaceful world.

Second: That service to our fellowman, through cooperation, through the practice of the Sermon on the Mount, and similar expressions of faith by other religious leaders, is most lasting and more fundamental than materialism.

Third: It is our conviction that if we are to have Peace, Abundance and Democracy in the world, men must be free from totalitarian power which destroys their personal liberties; that men must free themselves from the fear of want, hunger and landlessness. To do this, we must build social, economic and governmental institutions which accept these basic ideals and are capable of developing the ways and means of making them a reality.⁵

MEETING FORM AND EDUCATIONAL METHODS

Though the local in the Farmers Union organization has the privilege of holding the type of meeting it decides upon, there is considerable uniformity from county to county and from state to state. The ideas expressed during discussion periods in local meetings are often

⁴ Gladys Talbott Edwards, *This Is the Farmer's Union*, Frederic, Wis., Inter-County Co-op Publishing Association, 1951, pp. 5-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

more varied and vigorous than those in other farm organizations, but the general nature of the meetings remains uniform. This is largely a result of the education and indoctrination program carried out in terms of the purposes of the organization. With a feeling of common purpose and general emphasis throughout the organization on the importance of the local, it is natural to develop considerable loyalty. This loyalty, in turn, makes it possible more readily to follow suggestions on meeting form and educational methods that come from state and national union officers. The education director selected in a local is constantly in touch with sources of materials and suggestions that are common to directors in other locals all over the nation.

Efforts are made constantly to propagate "grass roots" ideas into all parts of the higher echelon of the Union. Resolutions and proposals are written in the local and county meetings, moved on to the state conventions, and, if acceptable, passed on to the program committee of the national convention. The program of the Union is voted upon and adopted in its final form by the delegates of the national convention, but the members of the Union in their locals have written it in the communities or towns of the nation.

When materials are prepared by education directors and their staff at national or state offices of the Union, they are relayed to directors of the locals who use whatever means possible to bring the facts, ideas, and understandings to their community groups. Panel discussions, chalk talks, outside speakers, mimeographed news sheets, and movies are all used by the education director to carry out his educational task.

The Farmers Union carries out an intensive educational program on coöperatives. National study topics have several times dealt solely with the coöperative movement. At that time the locals throughout the United States were receiving materials and suggestions from the national union on how best to teach the coöperative movement in their own groups.

All segments of the Union organization, including the juniors and the reserves, organize and operate coöperatives when possible. A very novel and successful method of teaching coöperation is the actual organization of a coöperative at state camps and in junior groups. From this experience, learn-by-doing method of teaching juniors, a number

of Farmers Union coöperative stores have been organized and continue to thrive.

The use of the camp as a learning experience was begun by the Farmers Union in 1934. By 1951, camps for Union members were held in twenty states, with ten thousand young people and their leaders in attendance. The Union has developed reserve camps for 8- to 13-year-olds, ladies' camps for wives and mothers of the Union, junior camps, family camps, and leaders' camps. In addition, especially during the summer months, day schools, county camps, multicounty camps, state camps, and all-states camps are sponsored. In all the camping activities of this organization there is emphasis on study, coöperative activity, recreation, and fellowship.

The camp program has been so successful in the Union that winter institutes patterned from them have been developed by the education service of the National Union. Many of these leadership conferences or leadership schools have become a regular part of the Farmers Union winter program.

In addition to regional and state camps and conferences, the Union holds a national leadership conference biennially. The purpose of this conference is to bring together all persons who are serving as officers, members of boards of directors, and staff members in the Union to discuss and evaluate the accomplishments and future plans of the organization in terms of its purposes and program.

The camping and institute programs have been the most successful of the Union's educational programs. The Union has also accomplished a number of worth-while community service projects and made real contributions to the social and recreational programs of its communities. The national union publishes a weekly newspaper, the *National Union Farmer*, which goes to all Union members. State unions also have their newspapers, and believe that considerable progress toward the goals of the Union can be made through this educational medium.

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FARMERS UNION

The Farmers Union is considered by many to be the most liberal of the major farm organizations. Related to this is the general belief

that the Union appeals to the small farmer and the tenant farmer to a much greater degree than do other farm organizations. Programs of locals often are most expressive of the belief in middle-class virtues. The struggle against opponents of the coöperative movement has developed in many a militant spirit and perhaps a stronger loyalty to goals than is found in organizations with less opposition.

Because of their numerous opponents, leaders in the Farmers Union movement are more often pointed out and easily recognized than leaders of groups with fewer battles. The Union publications often utilize this characteristic of their group to develop further loyalty to their causes.

THE GRANGE

ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSES

The Grange or Patrons of Husbandry is the oldest of the three major farm organizations in the United States. The increase in its membership during its early years was phenomenal. The first Grange was organized in 1867 through the efforts of Oliver Hudson Kelly, an employee in the office of the Commissioner of Agriculture. In 1866, Mr. Kelly was directed by the Commissioner of Agriculture to tour the Southern states in an effort to obtain information to use in Agriculture statistical summaries. It is in connection with this tour of Southern agriculture that Mr. Kelly conceived the idea of a fraternal organization to help unify agriculturists. His affiliation with the Masonic Order and the strength of such fraternal organizations in that day convinced him that a closely bound organization was essential. Thus the Grange was formed as a secret and fraternal organization devoted to the improvement of agriculture. By 1875 there were over 850,000 members of the Grange as evidenced by the dues paid into the treasury of the National Grange. At about that time the emphasis of the Grange at the local level began to shift from fraternity and fellowship to financial ventures and membership as a means of making money. It was often looked on as a Utopia where a farmer's economic ills would be cured by payment of a five-dollar initiation fee. The ritual and secret aspects of the organization were breaking

down, and soon came a rapid decline in the entire organization. By 1880 the membership had receded to 124,000 and there was belief that the entire Grange movement would die. That this did not occur was due largely to the efforts of Jonathan Woodman, who was National Master of the Grange from 1879 to 1885. During this period the tide toward disintegration was stemmed, emphasis on fraternity was renewed, and the value of a strong educational program in the organization was recognized and begun. From its low point in membership in the 1880's the Grange has grown steadily until in 1948 the membership lists again passed 800,000, for the first time since 1875.⁶

Membership in the Grange is by invitation only; anyone, male or female, 14 years of age or older is eligible. Membership is on an individual basis rather than membership for an entire farm family, as is the practice in the Farm Bureau and the Farmers Union. The selection of members and many of the other functions of the Grange are conducted by standardized rituals which are common throughout the nation. Grange leaders believe that common ritual is a unifying force for the entire organization.

The membership of the Grange is greatest in the New England states and in Washington and Oregon. The fewest members are in the Deep South where a number of states have no membership. Organizer Kelly's dream of a large fraternal farm organization has materialized but his belief in an organization strong in both the North and South had failed.

The local units of the Grange are known as subordinate granges. Unlike the Farm Bureau, the next organization beyond the local is not the county but a Pomona Grange, which may follow county lines but often is merely a next higher organization for a cluster of subordinate granges in a particular district of a state. The state Grange is next in line above the Pomona and then the National Grange as the parent organization. The ritual within the Grange structure is arranged so that the first four degrees can be attained at the subordinate level. If a member in good standing has reached the fourth degree, the fifth degree is obtained at Pomona level, and the sixth degree is a state

⁶ Charles M. Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, Washington, D. C., The National Grange, 1949, p. 497.

responsibility. The seventh degree is the culminating activity under the jurisdiction of the National Grange.⁷

Within the framework of a ritualistic and fraternalistic organization, it has been possible to maintain organizational and educational purposes that are uniform from state to state. This is not true of other farm organizations which have a much looser organizational structure. A common objective as stated in the Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange is "to labor for the good of our Order, our country, and mankind." More specifically, this is interpreted to mean emphasis on coöperation and coöperatives, legislation, education, and cultural enrichment. Emphasis is placed on economic and technical improvement of agriculture by education, organization, and legislation. There has been considerable emphasis on the development of agricultural leadership both at the local and state levels.

The emphasis of the Grange on coöperative enterprises was great during the late nineteenth century, but has gradually declined as a point of coördinated effort. The subordinate Granges still look for opportunities to support coöperatives and encourage their development and, together with the Farm Bureau and the Farmers Union, they are still a potent force behind the coöperative movement.

MEETING FORM AND EDUCATIONAL METHODS

Grange meetings are highly institutionalized with considerable emphasis on ceremony, rituals, customs, degrees, and symbolism. The amounts of time spent on ritual and ceremony vary among subordinate Granges, but requirements of the order are generally met. The emphasis on the social and fraternal features of the Grange appears to be strongest in the Northeastern United States, where the Grange has been most successful in maintaining its membership.

There are over 4000 Grange halls throughout the United States where subordinate Granges hold their meetings. The development of halls for subordinate groups has always been emphasized as a desirable practice and encouraged by dedication ceremonies. Only members are allowed to attend meetings of the Grange, which meets as often as two times a month. There are special events to which the public is

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 341-356.

invited. These events are usually of an educational or community service nature.

In the Grange meeting itself, usually one hour is given to educational work. Each unit has a lecturer and the educational program of the subordinate is his express task. The emphasis on education of the first subordinate units has continued and the hope of the early founders that the Grange become "the great school out of school" has been attained in many localities.

The work and education planned by the lecturer emphasizes such activities as talks, discussions, debates, and the distribution of special educative materials from the state and national offices. In addition there is considerable emphasis on such cultural pursuits as plays, song fests, readings, and occasional sponsorship of rural art activities. Education of young people in the ways of the Grange has developed in the Juvenile Grange. In this auxiliary group emphasis has been on conservation, education, and the development of rural libraries. The Grange emphasizes community development as one of the objectives of its educational program, and each year the National Grange sponsors a community service program contest. In 1953 the prizes offered to the winning Granges totaled over \$25,000. Prizes are used by winning subordinate Granges for further betterment of the community.

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GRANGE

The most notable characteristic of the Grange which distinguishes it from other farm organizations is its organization on the basis of a fraternal order. Its members are accepted by the membership of a subordinate Grange and, when proper ritual is followed, three black balls are sufficient to deny membership to the person being considered. The passwords, the signs of the order, the ceremonies, and the special ritual for special occasions all differ from other farm groups. The ceremony and ritual are filled with biblical passages or references to them, thus carrying a strong religious connotation to the activities of the organization. The Grange is much more firmly institutionalized than the Farmers Union and the Farm Bureau, and so has a higher

degree of control over its members from the National Grange to the subordinate.

Social bonds have been emphasized throughout Grange activities and organizations, whereas the Farm Bureau places greater emphasis on education and legislation, and the Farmers Union on coöperative action.

The Grange is the only large farm organization which emphasizes ownership of its own hall or meeting place. Where Farmers Union and Farm Bureau are satisfied to meet in a schoolhouse, town hall or courthouse, the Grange is continually striving for its own "home"—the Grange Hall.

In terms of membership the Grange corresponds closely to the make-up in the Farm Bureau. Usually the upper class farmers are the first to join. Where the subordinate Grange remains small and reaches only a few in each community, it is likely that the more progressive farmers and farmers' wives make up the membership. Still, where membership is more general in a given local area, the economically poorer and less progressive farmers seem to have a real place in the organization.

SUMMARY OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BIG THREE

The nature of the development and growth of the three big farm organizations is such that their common characteristics are more significant to the rural educator than are their differences. Table 21 combines into readily comparable form the important aspects of the three organizations. It is noted how similar they are in organizational structure, meeting form (other than ritual), membership, purposes, form of publications, state educational organization, and educational methods. The basic features that show differences between the organizations appear in the last row of Table 21.

AREAS OF POSSIBLE COÖPERATION

In any trio of organizations with broad and general objectives that overlap, areas arise in their ongoing activities in which there are possibilities for coöperation and mutual aid. Likewise, there are opportuni-

TABLE 21. Educational Program of the Three Big Farm Organizations

	The Grange	Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union	Farm Bureau Federation
Year and place of organization	1867, Wash., D. C.	1902, Texas	1919, Chicago
Numerical strength	860,000 individuals in 1953—peak in 1875 and 1953	200,000 families in 1953—peak in 1907	1,300,000 families in 1953—peak in 1953
Geographical strength in U. S.	New England	North Central and Western States Grain Belt	Corn Belt
Organization	Local—subordinate —district or county —Pomona—state— —national	Locals—county— state—national	Individual township or community— county—state— national
Meetings	Ritual Business Education Social Refreshments	Ritual until 1917 Business Educational Recreational Entertainment	No specific division but generally Business Education Entertainment
Membership	Men, women, young people 14 years of age or older (selected)	Family—farmers, teachers, ministers, and editors	Family, open to any- one paying dues
Auxiliary group	Juvenile Grange	Junior educational program Reserves	Associated Women Rural Youth Organi- zation (ages 18–28)
Purpose	Education Legislation Social fellowship	Education Legislation Coöperation Build higher rural culture	Education Legislation Coöperation Secure economic jus- tice for farmers
Publications	<i>National Grange Monthly</i> State Journals	<i>The National Union Farmer</i> State Union Newspapers	<i>The Nation's Agriculture</i> State Bureau Newspapers
Educational Or- ganization			
National	Lecturer	Educational director	Educational director
State	Lecturer	Field men	County organization
Local	Lecturer (volunteer)		Directors
Educational methods	Leadership schools Printed materials Publications Establish libraries Speakers Debates Discussion Open meetings Contests Coöperation with other groups	Leader training institutes Study packets Publications Adult and junior camps Monthly program Service Special study groups Coöperation with county schools Officers' conferences Speakers, radio Demonstrations	Leadership training study materials Publications Speakers Contests Coöperation with Agricultural Ex- tension
Distinguishing characteristics	Social emphasis Ritual	Sympathetic to labor Perhaps most liberal Attracts tenants	Closely related to Agricultural Ex- tension Service

ties for competition and even conflict among any three organizations with common general goals. Coöperation, competition, and conflict have all occurred among the Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union and the Grange. For the most part, the coöperation has overshadowed such competition and conflict that arise over different positions on legislative proposals such as the Brannan plan proposed during President Truman's administration, or the official tie in some states of the Farm Bureau and the Agricultural Extension Service.

An examination of the distribution of the membership of the organizations in the United States shows that there are relatively few areas where even two of the groups have substantial membership. The Grange predominates in New England, the Farm Bureau in the Corn Belt, and the Farmers Union in the Wheat Belt. It is in areas of national programs that some of the best coöperation has developed. All three groups are concerned with legislative programs for the betterment of agriculture and when they agree on a proposal, they make one of the most representative and effective lobbies in the nation's capital. At the state level, even where a single organization predominates, it has been important on legislative matters that all three groups coördinate their efforts for most effective action. When the Big Three take a stand on a piece of legislation, it is difficult for a rural legislator not to heed their position.

All three organizations have a real interest in the coöperative movement and though they often work independently in a given county or community, the knowledge that each is dedicated to the same course of action is convincing to the rural public. Campaigns for better schools, improved curriculum, and a more stable administrative base for a community's educational program is often the common meeting ground for members of two or all three of the organizations that have an active membership in the county.

In some instances where all three organizations are present in a given community they coöperate by exchange programs, by friendly interorganization debates on farm issues, and by pooling their resources in order to bring some well-known person to the community for a discussion of regional, state, or national problems.

As is normal for well-organized national groups, the Farm Bureau,

the Grange, and the Farmers Union like to maintain their individual identity even though they may coöperate on a common community development problem. The continuous growth of the Farm Bureau, the rejuvenation of the Grange, and the gaining strength of the Farmers Union in certain states is evidence that there is room for all three farm organizations in the United States. There is sufficient evidence of their coöperation on the national, state, and local level to show that they can live side by side, that they can do more to strengthen rural life by joint and coöperative action than could any one organization by itself.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Make a collection of the programs of work, brochures, state news reports, and general information material from the state offices of the Big Three farm organizations in your state. Analyze these materials in terms of their relationship to Table 21.
 2. Be sure to find the relative strength of the organizations in your state and in counties that are of concern to your program.
 3. What is the relationship between the farm bureau and the agricultural extension service in your state?
- B.
 1. In what ways are the programs of the Big Three organizations in your state similar and dissimilar from their general nation-wide characteristics?
 2. Which organization is the most significant in your state? Why?
 3. In what important ways could farm organizations aid teachers and school administrators, and vice versa?
 4. List the major objectives of each of the Big Three. In what ways might they coöperate to better aid the rural citizen toward achievement of these objectives? In what respects and for which objectives are the three organizations likely to be most successful? Why?
 5. What are the major differences in the three organizations in their program for rural youth?
 6. In what ways has the date of the founding of each organization influenced its program?
 7. Why would certain farm families belong to more than one of the three organizations?

CHAPTER 14

Organizations for Rural Youth

PROBLEMS OF RURAL YOUTH

In nearly every agricultural county in the United States there are over two thousand rural boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 18. Likewise, in each county there are over two thousand young men and women between the ages of 18 and 30. It is often assumed that the group of 10-18-year-olds are well taken care of in the public schools and thus present no real problem for nonschool organizations. Yet the needs and problems of young people are so broad and extensive that no one organization could expect to make the total contribution to their understanding and solution. In chapter 7 the educational needs of rural society include only one that is almost completely met by the school, the one of basic training in the use of such skill subjects as reading and mathematics.

The 18-30-year-old group of rural young people is largely composed of out-of-school youth moving toward firm establishment in farming, homemaking, or other rural enterprises. Many of these young people live on farms, and a group equally as large live in rural villages. School attendance no longer is compulsory for this group, and their participation in any educational program is almost completely voluntary.

Organizations dealing specifically with the school-age child have been more successful in developing programs than have those dealing with the 18- to 30-year-old. The reasons for this are not fully under-

TABLE 22. A Chart of Normal Development

	At Nine	In Preadolescence	In Adolescence
Physical Development	Slow, steady growth continues; girls forge further ahead, some children reach the plateau preceding growth spurt of preadolescence. Lungs and digestive and circulatory systems almost mature; heart especially subject to strain. Teeth may need straightening; first and second bicuspids appearing. Eye-hand coordination good; hands ready for crafts and shop work. Eyes almost adult size; ready for near work with less strain.	A "resting period," followed by a period of rapid growth in height and then growth in weight; this usually starts somewhere between 9 and 13; boys may mature as much as two years later than girls. Secondary sex characteristics beginning to develop. Rapid muscular growth. Uneven growth of different parts of the body. Enormous but often capricious appetite.	Rapid weight gain at beginning of adolescence; enormous appetite. Sexual maturity, with accompanying physical and emotional changes; girls are usually about two years ahead of boys. Sometimes a period of glandular imbalance. Bone growth completed; adult height reached; improved muscular coordination. Heart growing rapidly.
Characteristic Reactions	Decisive, responsible, dependable, reasonable, strong sense of right and wrong. Individual differences distinct and clear; abilities apparent. Capable of prolonged interest; often makes plans and goes ahead on his own. Gang strong and of one sex only, of short duration and changing membership. Perfectionistic; wants to do well, but loses interest if discouraged or pressured.	Wide range of individual differences in maturity level among this age group. Gangs continue, though loyalty to the gang stronger in boys than in girls. Interest in team games, pets, radio, comics; marked interest differences between boys and girls. Much teasing and antagonism between boy and girl groups. Awkwardness, restlessness, and laziness common as result of rapid and uneven growth.	Going to extremes; emotional instability with "know-it-all" attitude. Return of habits of younger child—nail biting, tricks, impudence, day-dreaming. High interest in philosophical, ethical, and religious problems; search for ideals. Preoccupation with acceptance by the social group; fear of ridicule and of being unpopular; oversensitiveness; self-pity. Strong identification with an admired adult. Assertion of independence from family as a step toward adulthood.

TABLE 22. A Chart of Normal Development (*Continued*)

	At Nine	In Preadolescence	In Adolescence
	Interested less in fairy tales and fantasy, more in his community and country and in other countries and peoples. Loyalty to his country and pride in it. Much time spent in talk and discussion; often outspoken and critical of adults. Much arguing over fairness in games. Wide discrepancies in reading ability.	Child approaching adolescence often becomes overcritical, changeable, rebellious, uncooperative. Interested in activities to earn money.	High interest in physical attractiveness. Girls usually more interested in boys than boys in girls, resulting from earlier maturing of girls.
Special Needs	Active rough-and-tumble play. Friends and membership in a group. Training in skills, but without pressure. Reasonable explanations; no talking down to him; definite responsibility. Frank answers to questions about the coming physiological changes.	Knowledge and understanding of the physical and emotional changes about to come. Skillfully planned program to meet needs of those who are approaching puberty as well as those who are not. Warm affection and sense of humor in adults; no nagging or condemnation or talking down to him. Sense of belonging and acceptance by peer group; increasing opportunities for independence.	Conformity with and acceptance by the peer group. Adequate knowledge and understanding of sexual relationships and attitudes. Adult guidance which is kindly, unobtrusive, and does not threaten the young person's feeling of freedom. The assurance of security; adolescents seek both dependence and independence. Opportunities to make decisions and to earn and save money. Provision for constructive recreation and if possible a "worthy cause."

SOURCE: *These Are Your Children* by Jenkins, Shacter, and Bauer. Copyright, 1949, by Scott, Foresman and Company and reprinted by their permission.

stood, but it is assumed that the school's influence permeates all other activities in which the 10-18-year-olds participate. As rural youth move from late childhood through adolescence their normal development determines to a great extent the changing needs and new problems with which they are confronted. The school and youth organizations attempt to meet each new need with specific program plans. After school age the development of the young adult is slower, and a general description of problem areas will indicate the points toward which young adult organizations direct their efforts.

PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOL-AGE YOUTH, AGE 10-18

Jenkins, Shacter, and Bauer have charted the normal development of youth from late childhood through adolescence. Table 22 shows this development and divides its characteristics into physical development, characteristic reactions and special needs. The items listed under special needs in Table 22 are of chief concern since many of the problems of youth stem from these needs being unfulfilled.

PROBLEMS OF THE YOUNG ADULT, AGE 18-30

The problems of the young adult can be classified into four groups, financial, social, recreational, and personal. The young adult is the person just out of high school and looking for his or her first independent job; trying to decide which road to take in life, wondering whether to marry now or later, considering what to do with all his or her newfound free time, or how to get any free time now that he must earn a living. This is the person often considered as being somebody's son or daughter rather than an independent and full-fledged community citizen. The young lady of twenty-five has the neighbors wondering if she is ever going to get married or clerk in a store all her life. After seeing how little her boy friend has been able to save by age twenty-seven, she is wondering if she can't do both. The young farmer wants to participate actively in the local farmers' organization but sees that all the leaders and officers are over forty years of age, so he hesitates. A farmer's son of twenty who went to the village to work in a service station is wondering now if he shouldn't be back on the farm with Dad and perhaps rent some land for himself. The young girl just out of high

school is wondering what she can do to make some money, while her mother is thinking of all the things she can do now that she will have a daughter at home. This is the time in the life of all young people when really important decisions are made on the problems confronting them. It is important to know the problems, and it is more important to have in the rural community the organizations that can aid youth in solving such problems.

FINANCIAL AND VOCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Once out of high school the rural young person must make decisions influencing his entire life. Choosing a life work and choosing wisely may be aided by a competent guidance and counseling service in the high school, but the full realization of what graduation from high school means may not strike until well after graduation. The young man who wants to farm will soon realize that \$40,000 is a minimum figure for getting established in the kind of farming enterprise he desires. How can it be done? How long will it take?

The rural village youth may be faced with a long period of working in Dad's business for meager wages before he can become a full partner. The young farm or village youth seeking higher education for one of the professions realizes suddenly that his investment too will be a minimum of \$40,000 before he really gets located and has a home and family of his own. The young woman graduate of high school is trying to determine the merits of college in view of the fact that she plans to marry her high-school sweetheart when he returns from his years in the Army. The young farmer and his wife, both twenty-six, are wondering whether to buy a farm and be deeply in debt or to continue renting. They wonder which will be best for their children, now that they have two.

These financial and vocational problems are not rare. They are faced and eventually solved (wisely or unwisely) by almost every rural young person between the ages of 18 and 30. Often young people do not realize that help in the solution of such problems is available. More often still, the organizations trying to meet the needs of rural youth are not effectively reaching those who have the most urgent problems. Figure 77 shows a group of young men seeking information

and advice from a representative of a university which sponsors an annual short course in agriculture.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The young adult often makes his most important social decision shortly after high school. Such decisions are not made without con-



FIGURE 77. Young Farmers Seeking Information Concerning a Land Grant College Winter Short Course.

siderable thought and often worry on his part. Decisions concerning dating, marriage, new family life, and child care all raise problems for which rural young people seek solutions. The aid in solutions to such problems is not always sought out by youth. A small minority will of course seek direct aid from their ministers or priests. Others will talk to their school principals or counselors. An even smaller group may seriously study their joint problems within the framework of a youth organization. The great majority of rural youth makes final decisions in this area of human activity by following custom or hearsay, or by trial and error.

The social expectations set by a rural society for its junior citizens may form the frame of reference in which the young adult operates.

It does not, however, tend to improve the socialization process by which he becomes a full-fledged member of the community group. It is often true in the most provincial rural communities that the young adult never quite becomes accepted socially until he is well beyond the time of maturity in all other aspects of his life. This leads to a kind of rural social class into which one enters only after he has children who themselves could be classed as young adults.

The problems arising in conjunction with social development and status in rural society offer a wide area for service and education by rural organizations.

RECREATIONAL PROBLEMS

The young adult wants to play. He has been acclimated to sports activities, drama, music, and often dancing during his years in high school. With his new found time free of study he seeks recreational and sports outlets for his physical and social energies. The continuous round of school activities may no longer appeal to him, or at least he would not be expected to participate as he did previously. The recreational activities of the 4-H Club or Luther League may not be challenging any more—or he may associate them with the days “when he was a kid,” thus making them socially unacceptable for his own age group. He may have been warned of the evils often associated with commercial recreation such as that in taverns, pool halls, and bowling alley-tavern combinations. But he is often forced to ask himself, “What else is there?” He seeks new experiences and new ways of satisfying his desire to spend his leisure hours in an interesting way. There is often no real choice for the young rural adult to make. He either seeks recreational pleasures not wholly acceptable to himself but challenging, or he stays home. Young adults, rural or urban, are rare indeed if they choose to stay home.

The organizations and agencies which claim education and improvement of the young rural adult in their objectives have just begun to meet the needs in the area of recreation. It is likely that the traditional negative rural attitude toward play has been responsible to some extent for the slowness with which organized groups have developed in response to the problem.

PERSONAL PROBLEMS

A host of major questions faces the young adult, questions that cannot be classified as financial, social, or recreational. When his move toward independence gets its big boost with graduation from high school, all kinds of new decisions are needed daily. The young man or woman begins to wonder if he is being consistent. He begins to ask himself what he really believes. What should be his attitude toward religion? What does he really think about good government? How much should his parents influence his decisions? What goals in life are most important for him? What kind of a wife (or husband) does he want? Should he volunteer for an armed service? Is this the *right* thing to do? Who decides what is right? Why does he know so little about the important things? What should he do and how should he do it? These are some of the questions he faces.

The young adult finally is at the stage of relative independence from home and family, church and religion, school and schoolmasters. He realizes almost at once the important role these institutions have had in his development. He knows now that he can pretty well chart his own course, but more striking than that, he knows he will need help. What can these institutions do to help him now? What other institutions can see his personal problems and help him arrive at his own solutions?

ORGANIZATIONS WITH PROGRAMS TO SOLVE YOUTH PROBLEMS

There are more organizations and agencies concerned with the boy or girl from 10 to 18 than there are for any other age range in the rural population. With the possible exception of the older adults, the group of age 18–30 receives less attention from organizations than any other group in rural society. Only one of every eight young rural adults between 18 and 30 participates in any activity outside of the church. This small minority is also the group that seems to be the most active in church activities. Often by sheer weight of activity on the part of this minority, the entire age group is considered as being well cared for by organized rural groups.

The most significant organizations for rural young people are the

schools, the churches, and the youth organizations sponsored by the Agricultural Extension Service. Others make major contributions in specific communities but do not have the great general significance of the first three mentioned. The schools and churches will be considered in terms of their general objectives for meeting and solving the problems of youth. The Agricultural Extension Service will be given further consideration in terms of its performance in developing and maintaining the 4-H Club program, and in its more recent efforts in Extension work with young men and women (the 18-30-year-old group).

THE CHURCH

Although the church's main concern is in the development of the personal religious and moral values which it deems acceptable, it realizes the importance of total personal development toward adulthood. Thus most rural church groups for the school age young people include as part of their working objectives the provision of desirable social settings for proper boy-girl relationships, opportunities for meeting a large number of young people within their particular church group, play and recreational facilities or opportunities for wise use of leisure time, and appropriate opportunities to work on local community problems of a religious and moral character.

In most cases attempts to meet these objectives are made by developing two distinct church activities. They are the church school on Sundays, or in certain denominations parochial schools; and the special young people's organizations. In addition to this, most church bodies attempt in any way possible to assimilate the young people into the ongoing activities of the congregation.

The Sunday school is the most widespread activity for young people in the rural church, being maintained in nearly ninety percent of all congregations. The young people's organizations have not been so widespread or as successful. Such groups as the Epworth League, Luther League, and Baptist Young People's Union all suffer from the fact that the number of teen-age youth in any one rural community who are closely associated with the church are not sufficient to form five, six, or seven organizations. With seven churches in a rural community all trying to do somewhat the same thing, we find insufficient

young people in each to develop a sound program or even maintain interest. The school-age youth are becoming better acquainted with youth from the total community as a result of almost universal high-school attendance. The schools have recognized the need for sufficient numbers to do an effective educational job, and community schools have resulted. The churches, by maintaining their own separate small youth groups, are finding it almost impossible to maintain active participation. If the rural churches each drew their membership from a particularly homogeneous segment of the community, it would be possible to develop strong groups in each area. Sociologically this is not usually the case today, and the trend of rural society is toward an even more heterogeneous composition.

The problem of sufficient numbers to develop both interest and program becomes more acute in the 18-30-year-old group, where few rural churches have been able to do an effective job by themselves. Although the logical answer to the problem of numbers is to broaden the area from which participants come, this may not be acceptable when the base is larger than a community, because of transportation difficulties. Another suggested solution is coöperation among churches in developing strong interdenominational young people's groups. The recent tendencies toward greater coöperation among various Protestant faiths may lead to greater activities in this direction. When rural young people's groups were at their strongest, between 1890 and 1900, it was because of interdenominational membership in the Young Peoples Society of Christian Endeavor. Its success may partly have destroyed it in rural areas, since each denomination wanted such an organization of its own. As soon as three or four groups were formed in a rural community, their effectiveness declined and they all but disappeared.

The rural church has a big stake in the youth of the community. Each church has objectives for which it strives. At the present time there is no agreement on the program which can most effectively meet the objectives and maintain the interest of the youth and young adult. Until such time as a generally acceptable and effective program can be developed, each rural community can be encouraged to experiment

with programs that are developed around the objectives of the church but within the sociological framework of the community.

THE SCHOOL

The growth of secondary education has meant that nearly three-fourths of all rural youth attend school until age 18. Here the problems and needs of the 10-18-year-old are of major concern. The junior high-school and senior high-school curriculum is developed with special consideration of the developmental needs of youth. The administrative structure of the small school is moving more and more toward a community school district where sufficient young people are gathered so that it is possible to obtain a maximum educational program.

Basically the needs of rural and urban school-age youth are alike. Special programs are often developed to meet the special characteristics of each. Such are the courses in vocational agriculture and certain aspects of the home economics program. The Future Farmers of America and the New Farmers of America have been established to meet certain vocational needs that are specific to farm life. The social, recreational, and personal problems are not stressed as much in this program as they often are in the young farmer classes organized by teachers of agriculture for out-of-school young men. The young farmer who attends classes in the high school that has a vocational orientation is often very emphatic in his interest in such things as recreation, social skills, and marriage problems.

Classes held in connection with the high-school home economics department many times are directed toward the out-of-school young women who are making plans for a career of homemaking or are already married and seeking to improve their vocational skills. Many times the teacher of agriculture and teacher of home economics hold their young farmer and young homemaker classes on the same evenings. Certain joint projects of this nature help when planning is done to meet social and recreational needs of these groups.

General adult education programs carried out by city public schools tend to interest large numbers of the 18-30-year-old group. In rural areas adult education in conjunction with the rural community school

has not developed to the point where generalizations concerning its appeal can be made. In communities where continuous efforts have been made to develop broader programs for the rural village and farm youth, they appear to have been effective. Since education for adults in general subject matter and cultural areas is new to rural schools, it may take considerable time and effort for programs to reach the point where they can be considered a potent force in meeting young adult needs. This is one of the areas of rural education that is beginning to develop as communities obtain a better school district structure.

The school's major role in dealing with rural youth has been in the academic areas rather than dealing with the types of problems focused upon by the rural church, the Extension Service, or other formal and informal organizations. The school's major interest may continue to be academic but as it attempts to understand its community and its students' problems more thoroughly it will without doubt attempt to do some of the jobs now attempted by other groups. The school has a greater opportunity to work with young people for a longer period of time than any other organization. It deals with a greater proportion of youth between 10 and 18 years of age than any organization. The school has a responsibility to deal with the problems of youth. The fact that organizations outside the school are so effective indicates to a large degree the extent to which the school has not met overall youth problems. It might be asserted that the school should not be concerned with other than academic growth. In that case greater effort should be made in other youth groups. If the school has a concern, then additional effort to handle the job should be forthcoming. Either way, this is an area of need which demands consideration by some organization.

THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE

The 4-H Club program has had a more profound influence on rural youth from 10 to 21 than any other single agency except the church and the school. Springing up as if by magic shortly after 1900, the 4-H Club program has reached a total of nearly 20 million rural boys and girls. The early beginnings of the 4-H Club movement were not concentrated in any one state or in any region of the United States. The conditions responsible for an organization of this type for rural boys

and girls appeared to have been much the same throughout the nation. Reck has listed the major forces which were at work between 1900 and 1910 to develop a concern for farm boys and girls and thus lead to the establishment of the early forerunners of the 4-H Clubs. Reck's list includes the following:

A feeling on the part of educators that rural schools were inadequate and not related to farm living . . .

A growing sentiment for practical education in agriculture, manual arts, and homemaking . . .

The urge of colleges of agriculture to pass on new techniques to farm communities . . .

A growing desire on the part of farm families for the better things of life, as a result of the gradual conquest of frontier isolation . . .

A drive to lift rural cultural standards, reaching its national expression in President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission Report . . .

A concern for the needs of adolescents, which was to result not only in 4-H but in such organizations as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls . . .

A worry (whether founded in fact or fancy) over the drift of farm youths to the cities . . .¹

From its early beginning in corn growing contests, garden clubs, and girls' home culture clubs, the movement has developed into a well-knit national organization that each year enrolls over 2 million members.

The general development of the 4-H Club movement is tied closely to that of the Agricultural Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. In the early history of the movement, however, it was largely a rural school project. County superintendents of schools were the prime movers in countywide developments. It is possible that the lack of general recognition of their efforts by the leaders in education was responsible for the almost immediate change in leadership in the program from schools to the Agricultural Extension Service when the latter was organized under the Smith-Lever Act in 1914. In case after case the one or two leading county superintendents of a state were hired by the colleges of agriculture and the new

¹ Franklin M. Reck, *The 4-H Story*, Ames, Ia., Iowa State College Press, 1951, pp. VII-VIII.

Agricultural Extension Service to develop boys' and girls' club work over the state. The College of Agriculture and the Extension Service recognized immediately the great possibilities for improved farm living that could come from such a youth program. Their efforts to develop the program and their success speak well for the early foresight of the leaders in Extension. The average school educator did not recognize the full possibilities of club work, so that the organization had its major development outside the school, or when connected with the school, became extracurricular.

Improved farming, homemaking, farm family living, and rural citizenship have continuously been in focus as objectives of the 4-H Club program during the last two decades. The 4-H Club pledge which is repeated by the 4-H Club members at almost all 4-H Club gatherings has tended to weld into a solidarity of purpose the many individual objectives that the member or his club may have. The national 4-H Club pledge was adopted in its present form in 1927. The words are:

I pledge my head to clearer thinking,
my heart to greater loyalty,
my hands to larger service, and
my health to better living
for my club, my community, and my country.

A more recent interpretation of the goals of club work was developed during World War II under the guidance of a committee of state and federal leaders appointed by the director of the Extension Service, Dr. M. L. Wilson. This committee developed and has received general acceptance of goals stated in terms of the ten guideposts of the 4-H Club program. These guideposts are:

1. Developing talents for greater usefulness.
2. Joining with friends for work, fun, and fellowship.
3. Learning to live in a changing world.
4. Choosing a way to earn a living.
5. Producing food and fiber for home and market.
6. Creating better homes for better living.
7. Conserving Nature's resources for security and happiness.

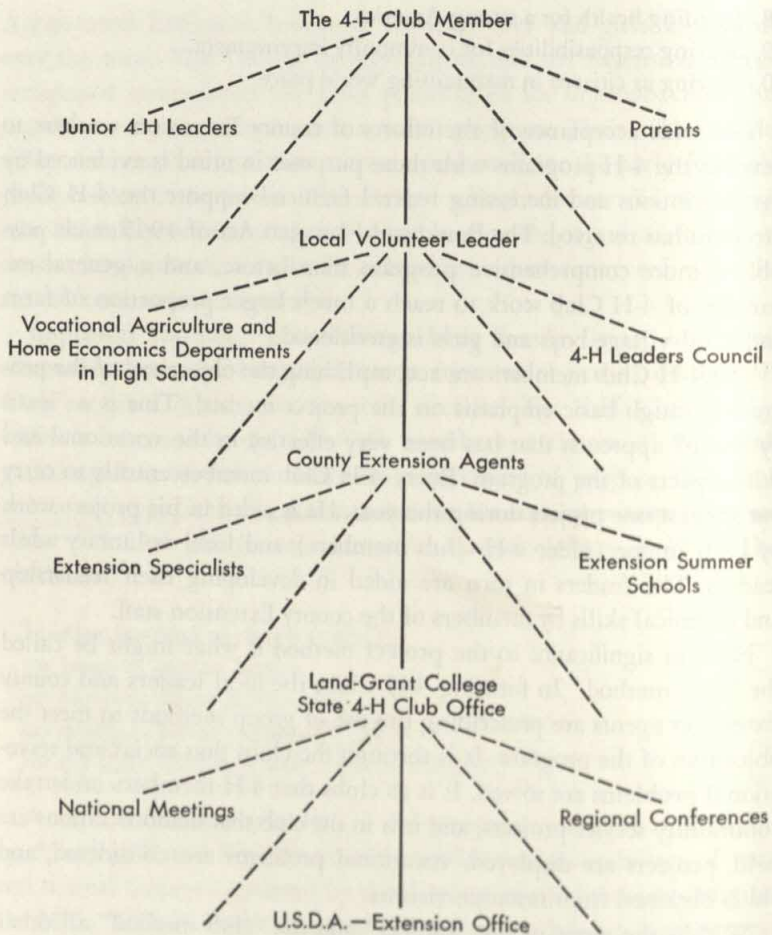
8. Building health for a strong America.
9. Sharing responsibilities for community improvement.
10. Serving as citizens in maintaining world peace.

The wide acceptance of the efforts of county Extension workers to develop the 4-H programs with these purposes in mind is evidenced by the continuous and increasing federal financial support the 4-H Club program has received. The Bankhead-Flanagan Act of 1945 made possible a more comprehensive program than before, and a general expansion of 4-H Club work to reach a much larger proportion of farm and rural village boys and girls is envisioned.

The 4-H Club members are accomplishing the objectives of the program through basic emphasis on the project method. This is a "learn by doing" approach that has been very effective in the vocational and skill aspects of the program. Every 4-H Club member enrolls to carry out at least one project during the year. He is aided in his project work by both junior (older 4-H Club members) and local voluntary adult leaders. The leaders in turn are aided in developing their leadership and technical skills by members of the county Extension staff.

Next in significance to the project method is what might be called the "club method." In forming 4-H Clubs the local leaders and county Extension agents are prescribing the use of group methods to meet the objectives of the program. It is through the clubs that social and recreational problems are solved. It is as clubs that 4-H members undertake community service projects, and it is in the club that demonstrations are held, projects are displayed, vocational problems are considered, and aid is obtained from resource visitors.

Within the scope of the "project" and the "club method" all other methods are incorporated. Contests are held, demonstrations are planned by members, tours are conducted, project literature is read and discussed, parliamentary procedure is learned, and individual instruction is received from leaders and county Extension agents. The structure of the learner-teacher relationship is pictured in Figure 78. Here it is noted that the individual members can receive aid from a number of sources. The local leader in turn is able to gain help from numerous sources, while the county Extension agents have a direct and operating service arrangement with the land-grant colleges.



———— Official Channel for Backing the 4-H Club Members
 - - - - - Additional Teaching-Learning Channels

FIGURE 78. Channels for Learning Aids in the 4-H Club Program.

The influence of the 4-H Club program is conceded to be great. Its results have generally been measured more in terms of numbers of participants than in quality of work performed. Yet evidence of quality can be attested to by anyone observing the exposition of 4-H Club projects at community achievement days, county fairs or state and na-

tional 4-H Club contests. The fact that the 4-H Clubs have grown steadily over a period of four decades is evidence that they are meeting the needs of an increasingly larger number of boys and girls. Today, one of eight farm boys and girls between 10 and 20 years is a member of a 4-H Club. Nearly one-half of the farm boys and girls now become members of 4-H Clubs sometime during their years of eligibility for membership. The tenure of club members has not been wholly satisfactory to leaders in the 4-H Club movement. Too many members drop out of club work after one or two years. In 1950 the average length of 4-H membership in the United States was 2.6 years. Table 23 shows the tenure of membership for the four regions of the United

TABLE 23. Tenure of 4-H Club Membership, United States (1950)

Region	Average Length of Membership	Distribution by Years of Membership				Percentage of Members who Reënrolled for Another Year
		Percentage Who Had Belonged		3-4 years	5-10 years	
		1 year	2 years			
U. S. total	2.6	34	24	28	14	65.6
Eastern states	2.4	42	24	22	12	58.4
Central states	3.0	35	22	27	16	65.0
Southern states	2.5	32	24	30	14	68.3
Western states	2.2	46	23	22	9	53.8

SOURCE: Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Special Table Prepared by Amelia Osmundson, Division of Field Studies and Training, 1951.

States and the distribution of the years of membership in the regions. It is noted that the tenure is consistently highest in the Southern states, with the Western states showing the greatest tendency for an early dropout of 4-H members.

Table 24 indicates the consistent and rapid growth of the 4-H Club program from 1914 through 1951. Not only has the enrollment been increasing but the percentage of boys and girls completing their projects has moved from 54 percent, when it was first tabulated in 1923, to 79 percent in 1951. The percentage of the 4-H members reënrolling has never gone above 69 percent. This means that nearly one-third of the 4-H members choose to drop out of club work after one year's experience with the program. This is one of the major areas of investigation now under way by Extension Studies Committees in a

TABLE 24. Number of 4-H Clubs, Enrollment of 4-H Club Members, Percentage of 4-H Club Members Completing Projects, and Percentage of Reënrollment, 1914-1951

Year	Number of 4-H Clubs	Total	Enrollment		Percentage of 4-H Club Members	
			Boys	Girls	Com- pleting Projects	Reën- rolling
1914		116,262				
1915		161,518				
1916		169,652				
1917		336,900				
1918		518,154				
1919		323,340				
1920		222,137				
1921		273,614				
1922		305,622				
1923		459,074	187,277	271,797	54	
1924		510,355	209,810	300,545	56	
1925	41,286	565,046	224,633	340,413	58	
1926	41,234	586,156	234,078	352,078	63	
1927	44,188	619,712	249,553	370,159	64	
1928	46,671	663,940	270,534	393,406	67	
1929	52,180	756,096	303,509	452,587	67	
1930	56,180	822,714	333,197	489,517	67	56
1931	60,781	890,374	360,653	529,721	71	58
1932	59,081	925,612	381,573	544,039	72	59
1933	57,401	921,965	378,143	543,822	72	58
1934	55,685	916,062	366,703	549,359	71	57
1935	60,720	997,744	405,691	592,053	71	61
1936	68,341	1,145,508	479,232	666,276	70	61
1937	70,306	1,192,385	503,524	688,861	72	59
1938	74,594	1,286,029	548,172	737,857	75	62
1939	78,599	1,381,595	599,420	782,175	75	64
1940	79,721	1,420,297	624,903	795,394	75	64
1941	77,988	1,404,700	617,733	786,967	75	62
1942	75,515	1,443,248	641,443	801,805	75	63
1943	74,813	1,639,473	734,673	904,800	75	64
1944	74,327	1,590,598	701,531	889,067	76	58
1945	75,146	1,562,622	687,803	874,819	76	61
1946	74,597	1,615,039	722,583	692,456	76	64
1947	80,286	1,759,911	798,651	961,260	76	68
1948	81,738	1,829,250	829,741	999,509	77	67
1949	84,020	1,886,214	854,098	1,032,116	78	67
1950	86,827	1,990,932	903,741	1,087,191	79	69
1951	85,793	2,004,139	903,922	1,100,217	79	68

SOURCE: Amelia S. Gordy, *Statistical Analysis of 4-H Club Work*, Extension Service Circular 482, 1952, p. 2.

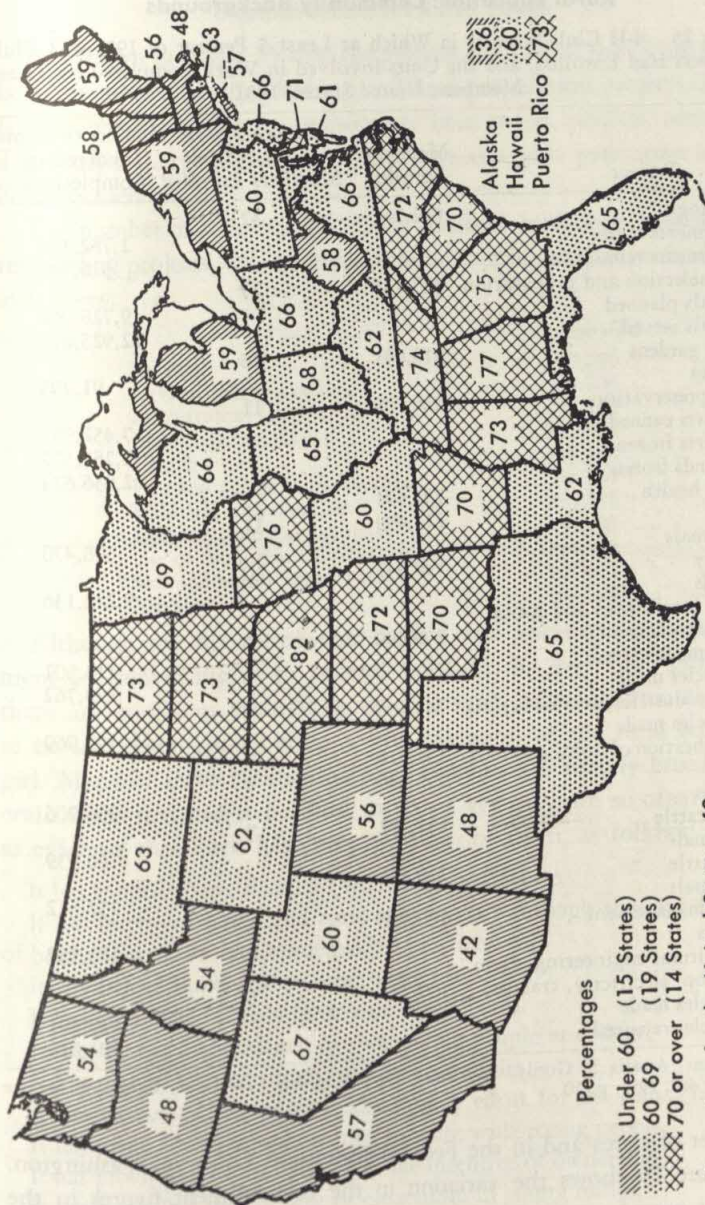


FIGURE 79. Percentage of 1950 4-H Club Members Who Reënrolled in 1951.

TABLE 25. 4-H Club Projects in Which at Least 5 Percent of 1951 4-H Club Members Had Enrolled, and the Units Involved in Work Completed by These Members, United States, 1951

Project	Members Enrolled	Percentage of All 4-H Club Members Enrolled	Number of Items Involved in Completions
Clothing	642,241	32	
Garments made			1,782,176
Garments remodeled			516,746
Food selection and preparation	533,146	27	
Meals planned			9,728,962
Meals served			12,925,679
Home gardens	318,091	16	
Acres			91,495
Food preservation	220,785	11	
Quarts canned			7,452,957
Quarts frozen			1,282,577
Pounds frozen			2,036,624
Home health	247,691	12	
Swine	214,999	11	
Animals			508,478
Poultry	198,947	10	
Birds			9,242,136
Home furnishings and room improvement	178,099	9	
Rooms involved			113,501
Articles made			429,762
Home industries, arts and crafts	144,106	7	
Articles made			397,969
Beautification of home grounds	141,216	7	
Corn	133,536	7	
Acres			256,706
Dairy cattle	131,772	7	
Animals			166,939
Beef cattle	116,448	6	
Animals			152,812
Home management	100,738	5	
Units			183,757
Agricultural engineering, farm shop, electricity, tractor	100,733	5	
Articles made			117,991
Articles repaired			102,019

SOURCE: Amelia S. Gordy, *Statistical Analysis of 4-H Club Work*, Extension Service Circular 482, 1952, p. 10.

number of states and in the Federal Extension Office in Washington.

Figure 79 shows the variation in the reenrollment figures in the various states.²

² Amelia S. Gordy, *Statistical Analysis of 4-H Club Work*, Extension Service Circular 482, 1952, p. 9.

It is shown in Table 25 that the greatest number of 4-H Club members are enrolled in the clothing and food preparation projects. Popular projects for boys have consistently been swine, poultry, corn, and dairy calves. Large numbers of both boys and girls participate in the home garden project.

The number of different 4-H Club members, including those in corresponding projects, who received definite training in various fields was as follows:

<i>Field</i>	<i>No. Enrolled</i>
Judging	500,250
Giving demonstrations	586,706
Recreational leadership	251,868
Music appreciation	257,996
Health	758,582
Fire and accident prevention	592,984
Wild life conservation	214,373
Keeping personal accounts	356,855
Use of economic information	144,743
Soil and water conservation	191,617
Forestry	169,029

Although the figures of membership and vocational accomplishment are convincing as to general worth of the 4-H Club program, there are numerous intangibles of club work that are often claimed to be its biggest contribution to the education of the rural boy and girl. Many of these claimed accomplishments are merely broad generalizations that might be hard to prove, yet they are so often given as evidence that Reck has compiled a list of them, as follows:

It has trained young men and women for leadership.

It has improved farms and rural communities through the introduction of better agricultural and homemaking practices.

It has helped build a finer rural home life.

It has improved scholarship in secondary schools.

It has increased attendance of rural young people at college.

It has revived community, county and state fairs.

It has encouraged cooperative community effort for the common good.

It has given adults an opportunity to work with young people.

It has provided boys and girls with the incentive of ownership.

It has implanted the concept of citizenship in young minds.

It has, through vocational incentive, helped keep the right boys and girls on the farm.³

³ Reck, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

It has been evident to those directing the 4-H Club program that one of their major problems has been to keep the older boy or girl in club work. The average age of the 4-H Club member is just under 13. This indicates an extremely skewed age distribution for the membership range of 10 through 20. Various means have been tried to increase the reënrollment and the interest of older rural youth, but no generally acceptable method has yet been found. In the attempt to reach the older youth the Extension Service has been taking steps to organize clubs for the 18-30-year-old. This has become known as the YMW of the Extension service, and shows promise of success.

Young Men and Women's Work in Agricultural Extension began in scattered counties of the United States under various titles and under varying sponsorships. County Extension agents who saw possibilities in a program for older rural youth began emphasizing that part of their work, and in many instances were the prime movers in county-wide or community organization of groups of rural young people. These early Extension workers recognized the 18- to 30-year-old range as a very critical one in the lives of rural young men and women. Financial, social, recreational, and personal problems of this group were not being adequately met by other agencies, so it was a fertile field for experiment. By 1935 nearly 700 counties reported working with 44,790 rural youth in efforts to meet these needs.⁴ There has been a considerable increase in the work of Extension agents with these groups since 1935, but the majority of rural young men and women in the rural counties are still not participating in the YMW organizations. In 1951 there were 1891 organized YMW groups in the United States. These groups included 76,997 individuals, almost double the number reached in 1935. In addition to the official YMW groups, Extension agents worked with 4608 other groups and their 150,364 members. Furthermore, the agents aided 91,620 young men and women of this age range who were not associated with organized groupings. Eighty-one percent of these 300,659 individuals were not in school, 41 percent were married, 35 percent were under 21 years of age, 32 percent were between 21 and 24 years of age, and 33 percent were 25 years of age or older.⁵

⁴ U.S.D.A. Extension Service, *Building Rural Leadership: A Report of Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics in 1935*, Washington, D. C., 1939, p. 37.

⁵ Gordy, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

Recent evidence from the U.S.D.A. Extension Service indicates an increasing interest in meeting the needs of this group. The joint committee report on extension programs, policies and goals came from the U.S.D.A. and Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities in 1948. An adaptation of part of that report follows and indicates the high degree of importance being attached to this work.

A very significant development of recent years is the organized extension program for older youth or young adults. It is directed to young men and women whose interests and needs have matured beyond the types of programs usually associated with 4-H Club work, but who have not yet been effectively absorbed into adult extension work. This is a strategically important group in rural society deserving the same proportionate time and effort on the part of Extension as 4-H Club members and adults. The forward-looking programs for this age group now being conducted in a few States need to be developed further and similar programs organized in other states.

More intensive work needs to be done. Better ways of organizing the work need to be found. More attractive program activities are needed. This group needs more opportunity for self-expression of its energetic talents.⁶

The overall aims of the YMW program are identified by Aiton when he points out that extension is trying to help young people to:

- Acquire knowledge and skills in farming and homemaking.
- Develop spiritually.
- Understand our democracy and the responsibilities and privileges of American citizenship.
- Obtain vocational guidance.
- Plan worthwhile social and recreational programs.
- Develop leadership and provide continuing opportunities for young people to prepare themselves for full adult responsibilities.
- Organize community-service programs.
- Study and discuss broad economic and social questions.
- Make desirable social adjustments and prepare for wholesome family living.
- Appreciate cultural values and the advantages of rural living.

⁶ E. W. Aiton, *Extension Work with Young Men and Women*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949, p. 24.

Analyze community problems of conserving human and natural resources.

Understand the problems of both rural and urban people.⁷

Further expansion of the YMW program could be a unifying force for the Extension educational programs, from the 4-H Club 10-year-old through YMW to the Homemakers and Adult Farmers Organizations.

ROLE OF YOUTH IN ADULT ORGANIZATIONS

The activities of the young adult in full-fledged adult organizations are even less than their activities in organizations of their own. When participation occurs, it is nearly always on an equal basis and with no particular distinction made between ages of the members. Even in farm organizations that purport to be organized on a family basis, the participation of the young adult is often relegated to a minor position in the carrying out of the purposes of the group. There is considerable difference in the success with which rural leaders obtain participation of young adults in adult organizations. In general it is more difficult to get youth to participate in a well-established adult group than it is to get participation in a new group being organized.

PARTICIPATION IN ESTABLISHED ORGANIZATIONS

When an adult organization with educational objectives is functioning smoothly with a membership of middle-aged and older adults, it is not only a problem to increase its membership by adding young adults, but the group may actually, by its very activities and expressions of opinion, keep the younger rural men and women from seeking participation. The task of obtaining active and serious participation on the part of the younger adult is made difficult by the characteristics of most older groups. In many groups the younger adult is not fully accepted even if certain members of the group make a drive to increase young adult membership. There is often a condescending attitude shown by older adults toward any "young blood" who may be seriously interested in active participation. Strong older adult pressure or campaigns for younger members often sets up a psychological

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

reaction just opposite to that which is desired. Young adults generally will not be pressured into participation. The traditional activities of an organization such as a Farm Bureau, Study Club, or Church Men's Club may seem undesirable to young adults who may consider active participation. They decide not to take part on the assumption that they couldn't do anything to change the traditional activities even if they were active members. Youth's desire for other kinds of activities and purposes often keeps them away from the group with a well-established pattern of objectives and activities. Even after trying to take part in established adult groups, the younger set may decide to try something else after listening to the kind of informal discussion that is such a large part of before meeting and after meeting activities of rural organizations. With the bulk of a group's membership made up of established farmers, village businessmen, and homemakers, the nonestablished young adult often feels that he is out of place when participating in the discussions of the group. Another related consideration of the young adult that keeps him from even beginning activities is that he seeks companionship with those of his own age who have needs similar to his own. If he concludes from observation that such would not be the case in the organization being considered, then he turns a deaf ear to those members seeking his participation.

The preceding difficulties are not always insurmountable. However, they are formidable enough to make youth participation in adult organizations a real problem of rural education. Where the problem has been overcome, it is usually associated with unusual understanding on the part of older adults, high community spirit, and youth who are very serious in their search for educational activities to meet their needs.

PARTICIPATION IN NEW ORGANIZATIONS

In most rural organizations there is a desire to obtain membership participation from all age groups in the adult population. In established organizations we note that this is by no means attained. In establishing new adult organizations, it has been the experience of those concerned with the organizing that certain age groups often take over

the newly organized groups. In some cases it may be those just getting established in farming, business, or homemaking—the 20–30-year-old group. In other it is the parents of young families—the 30–40-year-old group. In others it is the 40–60-year-old productive and well-established citizen; in others the older adult 60 years of age or above. The selectivity and often unsought grouping of adults in new organizations comes about because there are certain distinguishing characteristics of each age group listed. Such items as common educational backgrounds, common friends, common interests, and the present status of their family life influence the groups to which citizens will devote their time.

In seeking outlets for young adult participation, the rural educator

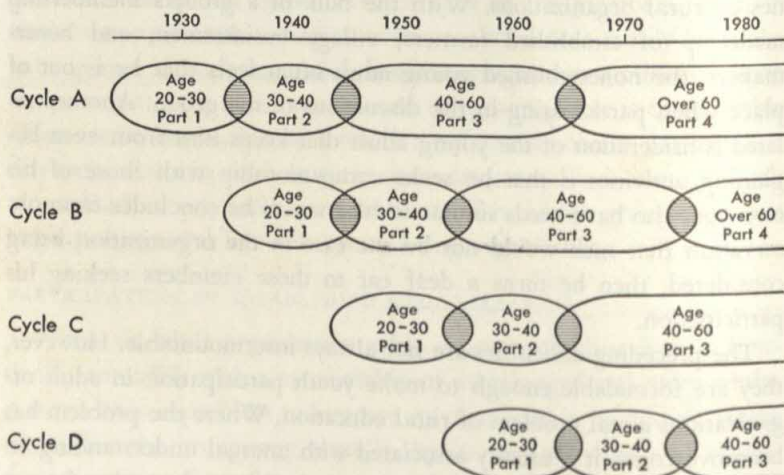


FIGURE 80. The Cycle of Participation in Rural Community Organizations.

should keep in mind the contributions of youth to all adult organizations as well as to those designed particularly for young adult activities.

Often a group of young adults who are in at the beginning of a community organization will continue their active support and participation throughout their lifetimes. This may mean that the next group of young adults will have no role in this particular community

organization because it is monopolized by the group now in control. In some communities it is possible to see the cycle of active participation in the various community groups. Figure 80 shows the cycle of participation as it often expresses itself in rural communities. It is possible to identify both the cycles of participation and the parts in each cycle when a community's organizations are studied. Large numbers of organizations are often found in many rural communities, and the cycle of participation in any one has a distinct relationship with the others. If the 20- to 30-year-old group stays together through a 10-year period, they are in part 2 of the cycle (30- to 40-year-old). They now have special interests of their own, and may not welcome the new 20- to 30-year-olds; thus a new channel of participation is needed for the latter group. At intervals of approximately ten years new cycles will necessarily begin. They may begin in any part of the cycle; where they begin depends on the age group which is seeking organizational resources to meet its needs.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Study youth organization materials gathered from the various youth agencies. Look for similarities and differences among the groups for which you have materials.
 2. Find out the expense involved in becoming established in farming in your community. How does it compare with the investment of the farm boy who attends college and becomes established in an urban business or profession?
 3. Interview professional people who are responsible for youth programs. Try to discover the problems involved in accomplishing their objectives.
- B.
 1. What are some of the factors responsible for a high "drop-out" rate at age 14-16 in organizations for rural youth?
 2. What factors tend to maintain youth in organizations? What are the characteristics of young people who maintain membership in organizations during their teens?
 3. Are the problems and needs of older rural youth any different than the problems and needs of older urban youth?
 4. Develop a list of the most vital rural youth needs. For each identify

the educational agencies or groups which are developing programs or have programs to meet these needs.

5. What factors are responsible for the extent and comprehensiveness of the 4-H Club program?
6. What teaching-learning channels are available to the 4-H Club member? the local volunteer leader? the county extension agents? Add to the channels shown in Figure 78.
7. What are the desirable and undesirable aspects of several participation cycles as compared with a single cycle of participation in which members of all ages are present in all or most organizations?



CHAPTER 15

The Rural Church

The rural church is a changing institution. Though many rural churches have been developing effective and worthy rural programs, others have not. In certain areas the church may actually decline to a point of insignificance, while in others it merely lags behind cultural change as a result of emphasis on the old frontier values of the church fathers. When reviewed as a structure in the total culture, the overall change in the open country church has been toward a less significant role in rural society.

This decline of the open country church is not common to all parts of the United States nor to all churches, nor to rural village churches; but the revolutionary environmental changes of our times have affected the churches no less than other institutions. The rise, the decline, and the alterability of the church are related to the changing cultural patterns of the community and to the trends in the population characteristics of rural America.

THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The church and the school—these were the institutions most immediately demanded by the frontiersmen as they settled New England and moved west beyond the Appalachians, then beyond the Mississippi. Many groups of settlers had their "preacher" with them as they moved westward in caravans. Others not so fortunate would build their meeting house and conduct their own services, hoping always

that an itinerant preacher would stop for a series of meetings in the spring and fall or even decide to stay with them and be their own. The little frontier church was more than a log building and hewed-out pews. It was an important element of security to people who had so little. The church organization and the building were part of a social structure demanding the best in the loyalties of its patrons. Just as the one-room school was designed to meet the needs of the neighborhood or "team-haul" community, so the rural church was built so that people could "hitch up" and be present for a Sunday meeting. The churches were fewer than the schools because one could be expected to drive farther and stay longer on a Sunday than was possible for school classes four or five days a week.

Though not universal, church membership and church attendance on the frontier were strongly controlled by the rigorous social pressures of the time. One went to church; if one didn't there were questions, there was talk, there had to be better reasons than the fact that it often meant a two-hour wagon ride in the rain. In the homogeneous communities and neighborhoods of the early day, the social control and unwritten codes of behavior were rigorous and often cruel. But then, the rural church offered the people some of those things they needed most—security, fellowship, new experiences, and a chance to exchange news, gossip, and important information. There is little doubt of the frontier church's significant role in acting as the major religious, social, and adult education institution of its day. Though far from being all things to all people, it was many things to most people, and everything for some.

RURAL SOCIAL CHANGES INFLUENCING THE CHURCH

The four major changes affecting the rural church are shifts in population, the movement from homogeneous to a heterogeneous community and neighborhood cultural pattern, the weakening of the social controls, and the increase in the number of rural organizations.

POPULATION CHANGE AND MOBILITY

In 1790 the population of the United States was 95 percent rural, and of this 95 percent, almost all were farmers or people with a very

direct connection with the land. By 1910 this group had declined to 54 percent, and of these just three fifths were farmers. The remainder lived in rural villages. By 1950 this rural group had declined to 40 percent of our population and less than one-half of these were classified as living on farms. The decline of the proportion of rural citizens in the population and the decline of the proportion of farmers to rural village citizens have greatly influenced the structure and program of the rural church organization. Farmers whose loyalties and values were different from those of urban residents naturally expressed different loyalties in their religious institutions. The church membership in the United States was once predominantly rural; today urban churches have taken the lead. An additional significant factor concerning the rural church has been the influence of modern means of transportation. Just as the automobile influenced the school, so has it meant differences for the church. Movement of one-half of the farm young people to the city during the past two generations places a real religious education burden upon the rural church. If the young rural migrants are not educated in the ways of the church while in their home community, it is unlikely that they will move in religious circles when they migrate cityward. Here again the rural area has a greater responsibility to society than it would have were transportation and migration limited.

The mobility within the rural community and among rural communities has become such that no longer are choices in religious affiliation impossible. A number of choices of denomination are available to the rural person in all but the most isolated region of the West. Not only are choices available between churches, but the mobility of the rural population has made possible choices of many other social and educational activities which in no little way compete with the church for the rural citizen. The choice of both church and activity has become one determined by interest rather than by distance. The shrinking of the "time distance" has caused the church either to compete favorably with other activities or to decline in influence and numbers.

The little frontier neighborhood was once the center of organized rural life. The contacts with people and things on the outside were

rare. Life revolved around the family, the rural church, and the one-room school. Today the rural village is fast becoming the hub around which the rural area revolves. This change in social affiliation and activity has meant that the community has taken on new functions and processes. New functions are followed by new structure with which to accomplish them. Developed in response to a community-centered function are such coöperative schemes as community churches, united churches, undenominational churches, and federated churches.

In the wake of shuffling and realignment of community function and structure are realignment in individual social institutions. The schools change, the roads change, and the church structure changes. But what of the churches' basic religious and ethical values? Do they change too? With an institution such as the church, the values and goals may not change although particular processes and structure through and in which they operate adjust to the environment. The desirable aspects of rural church processes in 1850 are often fondly considered by today's rural church and used as a base for their present "concern for rural life."

MOVEMENT FROM A HOMOGENEOUS TO A HETEROGENEOUS CULTURAL PATTERN

In 1880 a group of Swedes settled in a small river valley of the Midwest. Thirty farm families, their little Swedish Lutheran Church, and a one-room school made up the neighborhood. On Sundays the church services were in the Swedish language. One year a teacher was hired from a neighboring Norwegian settlement. She married a school board member's son. The next year the minister's son came back from divinity school with a bride of English extraction. Farmer Johnson's daughters both married German boys from down river; and thus it continued. By 1920 the Swedish language was used for church services every other Sunday. By 1930 it was once a month, and in 1940 one Swedish service was held on Easter morning; since 1944 there have been no services in the mother tongue. The neighborhood was changing, and with it the church. But the church was not necessarily keeping pace. When the neighborhood became more heterogeneous, the citizens began to go elsewhere on Sunday mornings. Some young

families went to the German Lutheran church in the village, others went to mass in the Catholic church in a nearby city, others left early to see a professional football game a hundred miles away, and some just stayed home.

Although this was not the only pattern of cultural change, it has been a common one. Where social controls have been more rigid, this trend toward a more heterogeneous neighborhood has not moved so rapidly. Strict control of marriage to "outsiders" of a different religious faith, high value placed on farm ownership and line of descent to oldest son, and strong emphasis on family security rather than education seem to be related to fewer social changes in the cultural pattern of a neighborhood. Where those conditions occur, the structure of the rural church has made fewer adjustments. As is often the case, the church may remain in line with neighborhood function and structure, but the particular neighborhood is looked upon as being slow to adjust to the overall change in the community.

THE WEAKENING OF SOCIAL CONTROLS

The strength of voluntary social controls varies inversely with the size of the unit being controlled. Thus as the model social unit has shifted from neighborhood to community, the control wielded by unwritten laws of the neighborhood is shifted to the community base. Here the weight of anonymity helps society to lose contact with the individual, and pressures to conform are weakened. In the neighborhood, if a farmer missed church or the brotherhood meeting, he was asked why. If the church has spread to a community orientation he may not even be missed. The ease with which one can "get by" in the larger unit of social control is important to those guiding the church. It is the reason that religious leaders are often conservative in their attitude toward the reorganization of churches so that the village is the site of the church and religious services. As economic services move from the crossroad to the village or to the tertiary community, the farmer follows the service. An economic service is tied directly with his ability to survive in the business of farming. When a rural school service is moved from the open country to the village in a school improvement program, the farmer's children will now attend the village school,

because of a desire for a more adequate education program on the part of the farmers, or because of compulsory attendance laws of the state. But when an open country church closes its doors and "consolidates" with a church of the same denomination in the village center, the membership and church attendance do not necessarily follow. The few social controls regarding church attendance in the neighborhood may now have been replaced by weaker controls of the community, and with it the overall loss of church membership and attendance. Although this loss of control and subsequent loss of membership is a problem in church reorganization movements, the reorganization does give the church a more effective structural base than an open country church that may be on the decline and cannot adequately support a full-time pastor or an effective and complete religious program.

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF RURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Prior to modern transportation and communication the church was one of few social institutions and organizations of the rural community. This was particularly true of the neighborhood which depended almost entirely upon church and school for its formal organizational contacts. The "neighboring" of those pretransportation days was informal in character, and besides discussions of the day-to-day life of the farming enterprise, it was often centered around activities and plans of the school and the church.

In terms of the church's place in the neighborhood or the community, the scene has changed. The informal "neighboring" has given way to organizations, clubs, agencies, governmental subdivisions, commercial recreation, radio, and television. Where church was once one of the few organizations around which plans and discussions revolved, today it competes with dozens of other groups, and its most active members, and often its ministers, are members in five or six other community organizations themselves. Lake Mills, a village of 2500 citizens in southern Wisconsin, recently counted 87 organizations operating within its community service area.

This social change has brought great pressure to bear upon the church. It must either compete with the dozens of other activities or attempt to coordinate its program with them. With the exception of

commercial recreation and certain special community-wide events, Sundays are left to the church. Thursday church-night suppers, Monday night church meetings, church men's league meetings, and business meetings of the church are always running into conflict with other activities in the community. This is the problem brought about by social change in the community. The road the church takes in solving the problem has not been established, though it is well recognized that in order to remain an active and strong rural institution the church must make its structural adjustments in relation to the new and changing community situation it now faces.

The basic function of the church will remain the same as it has over the centuries, but certain of its secondary functions do change. Likewise, the structure is slowly changing and, if the church wishes to survive, it will continue to change in order to meet and use the social phenomena of the times.

BASIC DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL CHURCH

In considering the open country church and the rural village churches, certain basic facts have appeared which focus attention on the problems and difficulties encountered by these institutions. Certain characteristics of those who participate in church activities indicate to some extent the problems involved. Hostetler and Mather, in summarizing research on rural church participation, find that there is "a significant positive association between participation and femininity, older age, nearness to the church building, prosperity of the community, long residence in the community, ownership of real estate, higher income, upper social class position, membership in the dominant race or nationality, membership in a church family, higher education, more desirable occupation, adequate housing, and participation in nonreligious organizations."¹

Attention has been given primarily to social changes in rural society that have demanded adjustment on the part of community organizations. Many basic problems of the churches in rural communities stem from sociological change. Problems to be given special consideration

¹ John A. Hostetler and William G. Mather, *Participation in the Rural Church*, State College, Pa., The Pennsylvania State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Paper No. 1762, October, 1952, p. 30.

here are small structural organizations, lack of sufficient funds to carry out accepted functions, difficulty in reaching the unchurched, difficulties in reaching and holding youth, lack of adequate professional leadership, and lack of a unified church policy.

SMALL STRUCTURAL ORGANIZATION

In 1936, the average village-centered community contained 9.2 churches. This was 0.8 fewer than the 10 in 1924 but it still is sufficient to indicate that each of the nine churches could not be very large. The change represented by the decline from 10 to 9.2 is one that occurred in the open country churches where, during that period of twelve years, three open country churches died for every two that were organized.² With an average of nine churches per community, it could be expected that religious education would reach every community citizen by one means or another. Yet in a study of Indiana rural churches in 1936 it was found that the ratio of church membership to community population was only one in three.³ Because of their small size, many of these rural churches do not have financial ability to reach into the unchurched areas. In addition, the disadvantages of being small are often apparent to both minister and church board, thus increasing the competition among denominations and among faiths to the extent that community solidarity is threatened. The size of the congregation in churches of the open country has always been lower than size of congregations in cities. Though no accurate recent figures exist, the proportion appears to be much the same as in 1920 when the interchurch World Movement reported that town churches have an average membership of 144, the village churches 84, and the country churches 46.⁴

In rural areas there is one church for approximately each 300 population, while the recognized ratio of churches to population is 1 to 1000. Sanderson reports that the open country churches are decreasing

² Edmund de S. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 299-300.

³ John H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952, pp. 367-368.

⁴ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 311.

in numbers, but that in those remaining the membership is increasing. The same is reported as the trend in the village church.⁵

The problems arising from the small structural organizations of most rural churches are clearly related to the problems that confront the small rural school. The small rural church has difficulty providing expected services to its members and its community or neighborhood. The costs per member for religious services are high. Adequate facilities would be almost impossible to finance and the congregation would continually be tempted to look for the cheapest rather than the best in whatever they seek—whether it be a church organ, pews, a church heating system, or a pastor.

LACK OF SUFFICIENT FUNDS

The rural church is a poor church, and the smaller the church the higher the cost per member. H. Paul Douglas's studies of twelve Northeast and Middle West communities during the 1940's shows how critical this cost-size factor really is. In comparing the 20 percent group of churches with the highest budget (average \$5876), with the lowest 20 percent (average \$784), he found that contributions of members in the higher budget group averaged \$12.77 per year, while contributions of those in the lower budget group average \$20.10.⁶ It is evident from budget figures that most of the churches in the low group were served by ministers who had more than one church. Though that doesn't necessarily mean the poorest service, it points directly at the crux of the problem—if the structural unit of a social organization or institution is small and ineffective, the costs to maintain it are disproportionately high. Just as one-room schools with ten pupils have a higher per pupil cost for a weak program than a reorganized district with 1000 pupils and a complete program, 30 members have necessarily higher member contributions and a weaker program than churches with 300 members and complete programs.

In times of economic depression the critical financial difficulties of the rural church are brought more sharply into focus. Douglas further reports that, in the 40 communities studied, the per capita contribution

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁶ H. Paul Douglas, "Some Protestant Churches in Rural America," *Town and Country Church*, January, 1950, pp. 2-13.

between 1924 and 1930 was \$16.89. By 1936 this had fallen to \$10.45. For the open country churches this figure changed from \$8.57 to \$5.67. The largest declines during this period were in the communities most seriously affected by the combination of drought and depression.

Though the church as an institution is in itself notably conservative, it is more a matter of member loyalties to a local church organization and structure that retards adjustment to the modern community with its changing pattern of economic and social relationships. The solution to problems of adequate rural church finance and organization may mean the type of structural reorganization that has developed for the schools. If this is the case, it is only safe to assume that the abundance of different denominations and sects in a single rural community may make the solution more complex than that of any other social institution.

REACHING THE UNCHURCHED

Basically the rural church problem in the United States is a Christian church problem. The Jewish rural residents and those non-Christian sects of Oriental and Middle Eastern origin make up only a small portion of the rural population. Thus the task of reaching the nearly three-fifths of the rural population who are not church members, and the people of Protestant or Catholic beliefs with no available church, becomes a major objective of the Catholic church and of the various Protestant denominations. The leaders in the field of Protestant rural church work indicate as their general commitment the bringing together of all areas of community life under the influence of the Christian faith. Likewise, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, an educational agency in the Catholic church, lists its four working aims as:

1. The care of under-privileged Catholics living on the land;
2. The retaining on the land of Catholics now there;
3. The settling of more Catholics on the land;
4. The conversion of the non-Catholic living on the land.⁷

⁷ National Catholic Rural Life Conference, *A Survey of Catholic Weakness*, Des Moines, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1948, p. 5.

The task of reaching unchurched areas of rural America and unchurched families in areas with churches is a firm objective of both Protestant and Catholic. Likewise various Protestant denominations may be hopefully trying to church or gain membership in the very same rural areas. The operation of competitive churching practices has already left many rural communities with a larger number of small churches than can be adequately supported, and no single church that is strong enough by itself to accomplish the objectives involved in good rural churchmanship. Without coöperative planning on the part of Protestant denominations, a particular rural area may move from an unchurched to an overchurched problem in a short time. As has been previously pointed out, once varying structures have been established to meet common functions, the job of coördinating is difficult to accomplish. Often an economically poor rural area is the missionary objective of several denominations who, when once they have helped establish several small struggling church outposts, are forced to continue their support because no one outpost can support itself. This often becomes no more than subsidized church competition. The problem of reaching unchurched rural areas with a program of Christian education is still great for all churches. It is a problem which, in its solution, requires a greater than average effort for long-time and coöperative planning.

REACHING AND HOLDING YOUTH IN THE CHURCH

After looking at the proportion of people in the United States who are on church rolls over a period of 170 years, one might conclude that reaching and holding youth in the church has been no problem. The National Council of Churches reported in 1951 that 54 percent of the population were on church rolls. This figure compares favorably with the 50 percent in 1940, 35 percent in 1900, 15 percent in 1850, and 5 percent in 1780.⁸ Even with this great percentage increase the general rise in United States population has meant a larger number of people every year who were not on church rolls. The youth who are of greatest concern to the rural church are those who are its

⁸ National Council of Churches, News Release, January, 1951.

members, though it would be unwise to overlook those in unchurched areas and families.

Like the Agricultural Extension Service's program in 4-H Club work, many of the young people in the church appear to lose interest in all the fine objectives of the adult members. Where Sunday-school attendance was high during the elementary and junior high grades, it drops off when the ages of 14 and 15 are reached. Young people's organizations are formed with the hope that teen-agers will stay closely associated with the church, yet they seem to lose interest and only a handful stay on as loyal examples of what the adults think all youth should be. Every rural church synod, conference, or diocese has suggestions to make to those directing the youth programs, but none claim to have the final answer.

All groups, religious and secular alike, are continually seeking to find that which appeals to rural youth, that which will obtain and hold their loyalties, that which will secure continued participation rather than broad and often unorganized selectivity from among all activities in rural society. The rural church with its high ethical and moral standards is necessarily more concerned with this apparent lack of judgment in selecting activities for participation than are other rural institutions and organizations.

Youth normally goes through the teen ages and late adolescence on a continually widening path toward freedom from parents and the general controls prevalent during childhood. The problem of the church and other groups is thus much the same. What activities will assure continued participation and yet be directed toward the particular objectives cherished by the elders in any rural society?

LACK OF ADEQUATE PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

In a recent study of closed rural churches in Pennsylvania it is reported that one-fourth of them were closed for reasons of unsatisfactory professional leadership and disputes within the church.⁹ Disputes

⁹Theodore C. Scheifele and William G. Mather, *Closed Rural Pennsylvania Churches*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Pennsylvania State College, 1949, pp. 6-9.

often are themselves strong indications of weak leadership on the part of the minister.

The rural church suffers not only from having weak leadership from its ministers but from the fact that it often has no full-time minister to turn to for leadership. Kolb and Brunner point out: "Even resident pastors serve on the average nearly two churches, and non-residents serve three. Less than half the rural churches have a minister resident in the community and giving his full time to one church. Most of these are village churches."¹⁰

They indicate further that slightly over one-half of the ministers in Douglas's study had standard training (four years of college plus theological training), while 25 percent had either college or theological training, but not both. In 1926 only 22.6 percent of the Protestant rural clergy had standard training. The training of Roman Catholic clergy in rural areas is reported as being practically always college and seminary.¹¹

In conjunction with being the most inadequately trained for leadership, the incentive is often lacking in terms of adequate remuneration. In many respects the lure of the city to the rural minister is much the same as that for the rural teacher. If he is improving his training and gains a reputation of doing a professional job, he moves from open country to village, and then to city or suburb. In commenting about this trend among the clergymen, this comment has often been overheard, "It's peculiar that 'the call' is always from a place where they have more money."

Lack of good professional leadership in the rural church influences greatly the standard of "lay leadership" that can be developed. The writer retains vividly in his memory a teen-age experience with the tactless, almost bludgeoning tactics of a local church leader who was attempting to extract from him the annual membership fee. Another leadership difficulty of the rural clergy is their often complete lack of understanding and knowledge of rural life. The values and attitudes of church members are often based on certain aspects of rural culture

¹⁰ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

and farm and village living that just are not recognized or understood by the pastor. When this is true, leadership efforts are stymied and with them the pastor's faith in his own ability to accomplish his purposes with the congregation.

Closely related to the problem of weak professional leadership is that of adequate financing and organization of the rural church. It will be a next to impossible task to obtain and maintain high standards of rural professional church leadership without an adequate base of financial support and a church organization that is professionally challenging to a religious leader.

LACK OF A UNIFIED RURAL CHURCH POLICY

As one looks back over the settling and the churching of frontier areas of America, it seems only natural that each religious denomination or sect attempt to establish its particular brand of religious worship and affiliation in the new communities. That this has led to religious competition is but a predictable outcome of the developmental situation. Continued competition after the new communities stabilized or declined in population has been one of the greatest handicaps to church structural organization. The valid structural competition of frontier days has become an invalid structural competition of stabilized communities. In overcoming this competition there has been no unified interdenominational or interfaith policy that could be used as a guide to overcome the handicaps of the frontier tradition.

In summarizing one of the most significant analyses of rural church problems written, Kolb and Brunner conclude by saying:

This analysis has shown that the rural church, especially in the open country, is a small, poorly financed organization, existing under the leadership of a minister who perhaps lacks the desired professional training and who, more often than not, must divide his services among several congregations. Its program is usually highly stereotyped, and there is some evidence that its hold upon its constituency is slowly diminishing. It is too small to afford better service, and it is difficult to improve the situation without better leadership. Its smallness arises in part from a multiplicity of units, a situation arising out of an administrative policy created before the advent of modern transportation facilities, and out of historical doctrinal differ-

ences which have perpetuated themselves in about two score major and more than one hundred and fifty minor denominations. These are things, which, sociologically speaking, place the ministry and the churches on the horns of a very difficult dilemma.¹²

EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE RURAL CHURCH PROBLEMS

The problems described in the preceding section have been generally recognized by the rural church. Though all-out efforts to solve them have been few, certain developments are encouraging and point the way to possible general solutions during the next several decades. Among those solutions most likely to improve the structural organization so that the churches' religious function can be accomplished are the following: the movement of the church center from the neighborhood to the community's village center, interdenominational coöperation, intradenomination coöperation, church consolidation, interfaith coöperation, and improvement in training for the rural ministry.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD THE VILLAGE CENTER

Just as the village center of the rural community is becoming more significant as the center of school and economic services, so is there a gradual shifting of church affiliation to churches whose buildings are moved to or built in the village. When this occurs, it should mean a broader scope to the program of the church and greater consideration of its role in the total community. Churches that shift membership ties from an open country church to a village face a hazard in the transfer not faced by schools and economic services. It has been found in studies of rural church membership that all of the members do not actually transfer their membership, and thus the church rolls suffer a net loss when an open country church moves to the village. Kolb and Brunner indicate that this occurs less in cases where the closing of the open country church was a planned undertaking rather than a closing after a lingering but unsuccessful struggle for survival.¹³

Fenton points out that loyalties to church structure are taught loyalties and as such education is again necessary to change these open country church loyalties to community loyalties. In addition to loyalty

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 373.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

to rural church structure, he writes, "We are also committed to the idea of establishing the universal Kingdom of God, in our community and throughout the world. This larger loyalty can be developed. It can take the place of smaller loyalties. This process of developing the larger loyalty is a part of the process of church cooperation."¹⁴

When a church develops loyalties with a base larger than the neighborhood, it is conducive to greater efforts toward total community service. One of the services that develops is that of education, not only directly concerned with religious education which all churches foster, but education for special purposes leading to community development. For example, in Lake Zurich, Illinois, the Women's Guild of a local church was one of the strongest organizations of the community. It did more than promote activities for its church alone. This Guild sponsored the first Red Cross classes in cooking, home nursing, first-aid, and water safety in the community.

Open country churches can also play a significant role in total community development when they realize the greater loyalties to community than to local neighborhood. An open country church in southeastern Nebraska began to study what successful rural churches were doing. The members then began a program of community cooperation and action themselves. Their social cabinet was responsible for a community lecture course. It arranged for circulating rural library service and, together with the public schools, was instrumental in the formation of a Community Council.¹⁵ This activity of an open country church is one means of making the church community-centered without actually moving the church's organizational structure and buildings to the village center. Because of the fact that more and more rural community activities are village-centered it is difficult to develop or work with a total community program from the peripheral location of a rural neighborhood.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL COÖPERATION

One of the most potentially promising developments among rural churches is the effort of various Protestant denominations to jointly

¹⁴ Ralph A. Fenton, *Local Church Cooperation in Rural Communities*, New York, Home Missions Council (no date), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵ Board of National Missions, Evangelical and Reformed Church, *Community Outreach of Town and Country Churches* (undated flyer), pp. 12-13.

attack their problems on a community, state, and national basis. The National Council of Churches has its committee on Town and Country. This organization has developed similar ties at state and local levels and brought information to the clergy at national, state, and regional conferences, by means of a monthly publication called *Town and Country Church*, and by means of surveys seeking facts on rural church conditions and rural problems of significance to the church. It has made direct and spirited efforts to help solve the rural overchurching problem by coöperation at the top level between the denominations involved. One of their great concerns and the most important area of interdenominational action is the allocation of specific competitive church areas to a single denomination. This eliminates the difficulties developed when each denomination pours in home mission aids to keep competing churches from dying. By coöperating on the selection of the denomination to lead the church activities of a single community, they help to establish a single church large enough so that mission aids are unnecessary. By coöperation, one denomination will be selected in one community and another denomination in the next. The procedure tends to strengthen all the denominations coöperating.

Other aspects of coöperation among denominations are less related to church organizational structure but just as significant in terms of their educational implications. The Vacation Church School in rural communities is often the first coöperative step taken by small congregations that do not have sufficient young people to hold separate church school programs. Coöperation on just such a project may and often does lead to coöperation on Leader Training Schools for those in charge of young people's work in the various churches, or even joint sessions for the in-service training of Sunday-school teachers from the six or seven Protestant denominations of the rural community.

Solving rural interdenominational problems is not particularly relevant to the Roman Catholic Church, and its clearly defined administrative policy generally precludes competition between adjacent rural Catholic parishes.

INTRADENOMINATION COÖPERATION

The formation of the larger parish type of community church organization for the several churches of one denomination has the ap-

proval of rural departments of the major Protestant denominations. Sanderson believes that no method of church coöperation has more promise for the solution of the major rural church problems.¹⁶

Basically, the larger parish organization is similar to the rural community level organization of the Roman Catholic Church. One parish is located in one rural community. In the case of the larger Protestant parish the initial organization may begin with several former churches of one denomination forming a single community unit. All ministers may be maintained, as well as all churches. Yet in terms of the long-time objectives, the new community church organization may be in a position to select additional or even better qualified staff. The consolidation process may be similar to school consolidation in many respects. The church could have professional staff selected for particular abilities. One specialist usually employed when a larger parish is formed is a director of religious education. In the old separate organizations, each church group could probably afford to hire only one minister and, as we have learned previously, at a generally insufficient salary to attract and keep one of high caliber. The essential elements of the larger parish organization are its coverage of an entire community, its reorganization of several church groups into a larger organization, and the specialization of its employed leaders.

The movement to the larger parish in denominational reorganizations points directly to a possible reorganization of churches for several denominations.

CHURCH CONSOLIDATIONS

Church consolidations can be complete consolidations where old organizational loyalties give way to new, as in the case of larger parish reorganization, or they can be loosely conceived consolidations such as in the federated churches where a number of denominations of a single community consolidate but still maintain their old denominational ties.

The former consolidation is generally called a united church or a community church. In this case the community is substituted for the

¹⁶ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

sect as the primary basis of operation, and overall purpose is substituted for dogma as the basis of cohesion.¹⁷

The federated church combines two or more congregations of different denominations into an organization that allows them to act independently regarding their old denominational relationships but jointly as regards Christian endeavor in the local community. Churches are federated in efforts to overcome the problems of overchurching and lack of sufficient funds, and to aid in obtaining higher quality professional leadership. Continued coöperation often weakens denominational loyalties, but this is done for the benefit of a sounder program in the rural community.

An example of a successful federated church is one in Pomeroy, Ohio, which has operated over 20 years with a high degree of success. The following advantages are claimed for this particular combination of a Presbyterian U.S.A. and Evangelical and Reformed Church:

- 1) It has made it possible to hire a full-time pastor and pay sufficient salary to secure a well-trained, competent man.

- 2) It has made the church more community-centered in its emphasis, rather than denomination-centered. Community groups feel more free to meet in the Federated Church than in any other, and they are encouraged to do so.

- 3) Since the Federated Church is made up of several denominations, it is easier to minister to and attract into its membership people of varying denominational backgrounds.

- 4) There is opportunity to choose the best from two denomination programs, literature, special emphasis, etc. (This backfires a bit when they are asked to give support to all special projects of both denominations, but this is handled by reviewing these requests as they come in and selecting the ones most adaptable to their local situation.)

- 5) The federation has helped to broaden vision, for the missionary work and service projects of the two denominations represented take in a large portion of the world and human need.

- 6) Indirectly, Federated Church has been a stimulus to closer cooperation between all the churches of the community.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

¹⁸ Board of National Missions, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

It is important to note that the advantages claimed for such a federation include solutions to church problems listed earlier as being closely allied with rural churches.

INTERFAITH COÖPERATION

There are some signs that point to greater coöperation among the religious faiths in rural America. Where separate and distinct organizations face common problems, there are often ways of working together without destroying those things which each group deems sacred. The evidences of coöperation among Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews, in rural communities where two or all three of these groups face common problems, have been increasing.

One of the most significant signs of coöperation affecting the three above groups in rural America is in the recent statement of principles underlining our national, state, and individual actions regarding man's relation to the land. This was a joint statement by leaders of the three groups, and dealt with such items as the aims of life in relation to land, stewardship of the land, the relation of family to land, and the use of the land for human welfare. This joint statement ends by listing fifteen methods for practical applications of the principles on land policy that were suggested. The most significant policy proposal related to rural education is that concerning the use of the land for human welfare. This part of the statement follows:

Efficiency in land is not to be judged merely by material production but by a balanced consideration of the spiritual, social and material values that redound therefrom to person, family and society. The land is not to be a source of benefit to a favored few and a means of servile labor to the many

Second only to making land available to the family is the responsibility of society to encourage and to educate the land steward in the proper and most efficient use of the land and in such techniques as will make them masters of their own economic destiny.

IMPROVEMENT IN TRAINING FOR THE RURAL MINISTRY

It is only natural to suppose that one of the best means of improving the lot of the rural church would be for the various denominations to train ministers in their seminaries who understand rural people and

rural society. Until recently, no real efforts have been made to prepare ministers for the rural church. This does not necessarily mean a special training for the rural ministry, but does indicate a kind of preparation that gives those moving from seminary to rural congregations at least a minimum understanding of rural people and rural problems.

Most influential in attacking this problem has been the Committee on Town and Country of the National Council of Churches. In looking to the preservice training of ministers for rural work, they have been effective in encouraging several theological seminaries to establish chairs of rural church methods and rural sociology. A specific recommendation of this committee is that "ministers who are to work in rural fields should have a specialized training in rural work."¹⁹

Realizing that preservice training alone would not accomplish the job, the committee has been effective in establishing workshops for in-service training of clergy. These workshops, institutes, and short courses are generally held in coöperation with state agricultural colleges.

The training for the rural ministry has not been as critical a problem with Roman Catholicism since nearly all their clergy have had both college and seminary education, and the study of rural life has always been considered an important element in the total program. On an in-service training basis, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference has been active in promoting workshops similar to those of the Protestant groups. These often are held in coöperation with agricultural colleges and are concerned primarily with keeping clergy informed on latest agricultural developments and trends in rural living.

THE DEVELOPING RURAL CHURCH PROGRAM

The rural church was the dominant church in the early days of our national development. Industrialization and urbanization of the United States have occurred so rapidly that, within a century, the rural church has been relegated to a minor position in terms of proportion of members and influence. Today, rural religious work appears to some to be a limited field, and the evidence regarding difficulty in

¹⁹ *A National Program for the Rural Church*, New York, Home Missions Council, 1938, p. 2.

obtaining and keeping the better-qualified clergy in rural communities points to that recognition by the clergy themselves. Though the church may be less rural than formerly, there are real efforts being made to strengthen the role of the rural church and actually develop a rural church program that is far more comprehensive than the rural church programs of a century ago.

The general function of the rural church has always been to bring individuals under the influence of God. More and more the evidence points to a consideration of bringing all areas of community life under His influence. It is an attempt to add the universal and the eternal to the somewhat narrow scope that could be developed in the confines of a completely secular rural society.

To accomplish this task, the church relies on education. Rural religious education is a basic element of all preaching, pastoral visitation, church schools and parochial schools, the ministry of music, church-sponsored youth programs, women's and men's organizations, and the community service projects undertaken by the church.

Within the framework of the church's organizational structure are certain elements that make for ease or difficulty in accomplishing its function and undertaking the various processes that lead to religious literacy. The evidence has pointed to some serious weaknesses in the structural organization of the rural church. To correct these weaknesses there have been long, arduous, and often competitive, yet unsuccessful campaigns to strengthen individual church groups within a community. There have been efforts to coöperate with other weak churches of a community so that, through joint efforts of several weak structures, the functions of the several churches might be accomplished. There have been efforts to consolidate into a single sturdy unit the several weak church organizational structures of a community. There have been hopes by congregations that their national bodies might help them a bit more so they could establish a stronger local unit. Whatever the experiences of the past in strengthening rural church structure, the changing picture for the rural population indicates that further structural changes will be necessary. That being true, it is important that the local rural community churches analyze their own problems, seek advice from outside resources, decide what

they want to accomplish, find out ways in which their church structures must change in order to accomplish their goals, and then seek to bring these changes about. The process of changing church structure to meet religious objectives is no different from the process of changing school structure to meet educational objectives.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. What efforts have been made in your state to solve rural church problems? It would be well to seek information from state leaders of the various church groups and compare methods used by them.
 2. Obtain from state leaders the best examples of educational programs conducted by rural churches. Include among types of programs those in community development, church school, adult education activities, and parent education. Why have these specific programs been effective?
 3. Survey the membership of a selected urban church and find out the proportion of members having their early Christian training in rural communities.
- B.
 1. In what ways have the development of rural schools and rural churches been similar?
 2. What problems of the rural school and rural churches have been solved in the past? Which are still present? In what ways do the solutions sometimes differ among church groups?
 3. What is the average size of the rural church membership in your state? How does it compare with urban churches?
 4. What factors of cultural change have most influenced rural churches? Why?
 5. With what aspects of rural life should a rural minister be acquainted?
 6. What are the effects of a disbanded rural neighborhood church on the people of the neighborhood? How would it influence the community?

CHAPTER 16

Rural Library Service

Library service, whether it be rural or urban, should be such that everyone has an opportunity to make use of it. To be effective, it must provide young and old with possibilities for further education, needed information, recreation, and inspiration. The chief source of library service in rural America is the public library. For our purposes, the public library is defined as "a library which provides free library service of a general nature to the people of its community, and that is supported wholly or partly by tax funds."

HISTORY AND STATUS OF RURAL LIBRARY SERVICE

Good library service, like good school service, is most often associated with the large community. The more rural an area the more likely is one to find inadequate provision for library services. The wealthier an area the more likely is one to find adequate library service. These generalizations are made on the basis of an examination of the history and studies of libraries for rural people.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RURAL LIBRARY

The development of the public libraries in the United States occurred under considerably different circumstances than that of the schools. The settlers of the frontier recognized almost immediately their need for some type of school wherein their children could learn certain fundamental skills. Though library development came only a

short time later, it was usually under the guidance of a few people who formed private library associations. The motivations of these people were largely humanitarian. They wanted to provide service for themselves but also for those whom they thought really needed an introduction to our cultural treasures. These associations and their ensuing libraries had very definite financial limitations. Those associations formed in rural villages often could not afford the purchase of sufficient books to invite public interest in the venture. Even if an adequate supply of books was available, they next had difficulty financing the employment of a librarian. As a result of these obvious difficulties, tax support was encouraged. This led to state grants and village or town tax levies for library support and additional school district taxes for the express purpose of library support. Development of county libraries was not actually accomplished until California adopted a County Free Library Law in 1909, although Indiana had provided for such a development when its constitution was adopted in 1816.¹

An additional private impetus to library development has been made through the efforts of great philanthropists who firmly believed that the library could be a real source of education to all, even if the citizens would not make the initial effort to provide the space or the books. Libraries and books provided by funds from Andrew Carnegie and others often reached rural areas. Many times the continuous public support of such libraries was so limited that the library building became a place people pointed to with pride but never entered.

Often the initial books in rural village libraries were purchased by funds willed to the village board for the express purpose of beginning a library. Village boards then found it difficult to support either a place for housing the collection or a librarian to help make the books available to the community. In the majority of cases the citizen's entire concept of library service was built around a cubby hole of a room in the village hall, a widow who was hired to take care of the books one day a week, and the fact that only wives of the businessmen on Main Street were ever seen entering or leaving the library.

¹ J. C. Settelmayer, *Public Library Service in the United States, 1941*, A.L.A. Bulletin, June, 1942, p. 401.

In spite of the handicaps of public apathy to library support, inadequate financing of the services that should be provided for libraries established by grants and endowments, and the inadequate size of most libraries in rural areas, the service has developed to the extent that in 1947 nearly half the rural population had access to permanent public library service. When one considers the almost complete availability of public library service to the city population, another real difference in the educational opportunities of rural and urban people comes sharply into focus.²

Yet city library service is considered far from adequate and, as pointed out by Cousins:

The average American community today is not far from finding itself in a critical position with respect to its library facilities and services. When Andrew Carnegie established his nation-wide community library endowment the population of the United States was about half what it is today. Meanwhile in the last half century the educational level of America has had the most prodigious rise in human history, with respect to numbers and time. Assuming that there is some connection, however frighteningly slight at times, between education and books, it should be apparent that the American people have all but outgrown their present library facilities. Hundreds of new communities in the United States are without any public libraries at all.—As for the new developments that properly fall within the sphere of the public library which likes to regard itself as a community center—such developments as documentary-film departments, music recording departments, microfilming, etc.—only a small handful of public libraries in the country have been fortunate enough to be able to keep up with the times.³

AVAILABILITY OF RURAL LIBRARY SERVICE

It has been shown in numerous studies that the rural people do not have the reading opportunities common in our urban centers. In 1942 Settlemayer reported that over half of the rural farm and village citizens did not have easy access to permanent public library service.⁴

² American Library Association, "Equal Chance Supplement," American Library Association, Chicago, 1947, pp. 26-31.

³ Norman Cousins, "Save the Libraries," *Saturday Review of Literature*, July 1, 1950, pp. 22-24.

⁴ Settlemayer, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

County library systems which show the brightest prospects for service to rural areas are actually congregated in the more urban counties of the United States. Carnóvsky reported in 1945 that there were only 450 county library systems operating on a budget of more than one thousand dollars.⁵

In 1948 there were only 804 counties of the 3051 in the United States that could claim any kind of regional or county library service. It was reported in 1947 that there were 661 counties that had no public library service of any kind. The largest group of these counties is in the South, and practically all of them in very rural regions of the nation.⁶ The fact that so many of the complete blanks in library service are in the Southern states points to an even poorer opportunity for self-development through libraries that are available to the heavily rural Negro population.

Loomis and Beegle review several studies on the usage of public libraries by rural and urban populations. They report that in several Michigan communities 26 percent of the people living in towns used public libraries, compared with 6 percent in the surrounding farm areas. In a county study the figures were 17 and 12 percent respectively, and in a report of eleven southern United States counties the percentages were 43 and 19 for urban and rural area library usage. In addition, they report that in a survey of the Social Science Research Council in 1948, 21 percent of the urban population used public libraries compared to 15 percent of the rural population.⁷

When comparing availability of service, there is no doubt that the least available service is that for the rural resident; and in rural areas that available to the farm family is less than that available for the village family. Above and beyond those great differences are the differences in kind and quality of service available to families in each of the three areas. In general rural libraries have been village libraries, with little effort on the part of the village citizen to encourage its use by the entire community.

⁵ Floyd Reeves, *Education for Rural America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945, p. 143.

⁶ American Library Association, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.

⁷ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, pp. 520-522.

Although in most cases no efforts are made directly to discourage farm family use of the library, the same results have been accomplished by having the library open at unhandy times for farm people to make use of it, by stocking books of primary interest to village residents, and by a system of fees for the farm borrowers.

In addition to the meager supply of books and library service to farm people, there are only small supplies of books in the farm homes. Maturing farm children lack adequate contact with books from the library and books in the home. This places an additional burden on the rural school which, we have noted previously, is working under severe handicaps to furnish even a minimum educational program. In some instances a school library developed around the reading needs of children and youth is the only source of literature in the community.

Link and Hopf report the results of a recent study of 4000 families in town and urban centers in which the median number of books owned was 164. The medians ranged from 250 in the upper income group to 126 in the middle income group and 92 in the lower income group.⁸ Evidence from other studies shows that the number of books available in farm homes corresponds with those available in the lower income group of the Link and Hopf report.⁹

TYPE OF LIBRARY SERVICE AVAILABLE

Library service to rural residents, when available, is likely to come from one of the following sources:

1. State Library commissions, State Department of Education or boards of education.
2. County departments of education or county superintendents.
3. Free public libraries serving counties or local communities.
4. Libraries maintained by single schools or groups of schools.
5. College libraries.
6. Private organizations (Parent Teacher Associations, American Association of University Women, Women's Federations, etc.).¹⁰

⁸ Henry C. Link and Harry A. Hopf, *People and Books*, New York, Book Manufacturers Institute, 1946, pp. 103-104.

⁹ Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

¹⁰ Edith Lathrop, *Rural School Libraries*, National Education Association, 1936, pp. 6-46.

Of these six sources only the free public library could be expected to provide any appreciable evidence of broad service to the adults of a rural community. We have shown previously how meager this service is in the village and particularly to farm families. The efforts to provide library service through state library commissions or state departments of education have been successful in meeting the emergency needs of certain handicapped areas, and these agencies have attempted to expand their services by every means possible. In Wisconsin the Free Library Commission was established by law in 1895. Its principal duty was to bring books to those areas of the state where no library service was available. By 1914 over 1200 traveling library stations were established in the state, and traveling libraries of at least 50 books each were being sent to these stations upon request. Twelve hundred stations were still operating in 1940, and that year there were 3220 requests from the stations for a library (50 books or more). During 1940, requests for over 110,576 individual books were filled on a mail basis and nearly as many books distributed by the traveling library of the Free Library Commission.¹¹

Efforts of county departments of education and county superintendents of schools have been for a source of books aimed primarily at broadening the often narrow and insufficient source of books available in the smallest rural schools. The efforts in this regard have rested heavily upon rural teachers' picking up books at intervals from the county superintendent's office, or occasionally upon efforts of the county superintendent or county school supervisors to leave the books at small schools in their supervisory visits.

School libraries have faced the same obstacles as rural public libraries—lack of funds, and an insufficient tax base upon which to develop adequate service. The larger village schools have often established good libraries at high-school level. With the increasing tendency for reorganization of school districts into larger units, the library service that can be provided is expanding and in many instances it is on a par with school libraries in cities. However, urban school-age children are more apt to have a complete city public library system available as well.

¹¹ Wisconsin Free Library Commission, *Secretary's Biennial Report, Ending June 30, 1940*, p. 3.

College libraries have attempted to extend their library services where needed, but are usually successful only in the immediate region surrounding the college. College libraries are faced with much the same problem as the city library that is willing to extend its book service to surrounding rural communities: there will be a low residual use of the library, and only through great effort can the library usage by large numbers be encouraged. This is the factor behind the efforts of county libraries, library commissions, and regional libraries to establish numerous local book stations in small towns, crossroad stores, and open country schools. The efforts of private organizations to supply library service (in reality, limited book service) to their particular groups can be successful for the group involved, but rarely reach more than minimum numbers. The major contributions of private organizations is in their encouragement to their communities to establish free public libraries, to reorganize existing facilities into effective library units, and to establish local branches of a regional or county library in the particular community with which they are concerned.

PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF RURAL LIBRARIANS

Just as in the case of the small rural schools, those professional workers associated with the small rural libraries have the least training for their positions, receive the lowest wages, and take the least interest in the overall improvement of their profession. In many respects the schools and the libraries have the same staff difficulties to overcome. Until the basic operating unit is sufficiently large to supply adequate funds, the cheapest rather than the best professional aid will be sought. The library that is open only three days a week cannot expect to obtain the same qualifications in its librarians that are possible for a county library with a six day week, central library, numerous branch stations, bookmobile stops, and a comprehensive service to the community in terms of educational films, recordings, meeting rooms, and leadership in community development.

Instead of the sometimes "too true" stereotype librarian often found in rural libraries (nose in a book, hush-hush, card-cataloguing spinster), the librarian "should be the community's communication ex-

pert.”¹² This concept of librarianship places much greater responsibility for overall community growth in the hands of the librarian. It means working with books as a means of working with people. It means working with groups and being a recognized community leader in order that the library can be a public agency devoted to community growth. The majority of today's rural librarians would not be willing nor able to deal with the comprehensive program suggested. There are strong evidences of new life in the library movement which point to more rapid development in that direction and the possibilities of better qualified rural librarians. These developments and how they might come about will be developed later in this chapter.

BASIC DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN PROVIDING RURAL LIBRARY SERVICE

Library service has been and will continue to be difficult to provide to rural areas because of certain characteristics of rural society. Only three difficulties will be considered here because they present the focal points of any effort to improve rural living by means of education through the library. These difficulties are insufficient wealth, the traditional organization and service of the rural library, and insufficient demand for service arising from both sparsity of population and the lower educational level of rural residents.

INSUFFICIENT WEALTH

To provide for libraries of sufficient scope to be effective educational institutions requires significant outlays of money. The cost of establishing libraries that are large enough to provide this service is so costly that the average rural community is in no position to finance their development and continuation independently. The small “token libraries” of the rural community have resulted. These are inadequate to serve the rural citizens or to encourage communities to expand libraries to anything better.

Because of the small population and tax base of the rural community, any recommendation for promoting library development entails

¹² Carleton B. Joekel and Amy Winslow, *A National Plan for Public Library Service*, American Library Association, 1948, p. 121.

plans to increase the size of the library unit both in numbers of people served and base of financial support. As a result of research and library experience, it is generally agreed that a population of 25,000 is the smallest unit capable of supporting a fairly efficient library service unit. When a sufficient number of people are available, students of library finance have come to accept the per capita basis as the most reliable measure of the necessary appropriation. In 1948 the Council of the American Library Association confirmed the adoption of standards with \$1.50 per capita for minimum, \$2.25 for good service, and \$3.00 for superior service.¹³ These recommendations indicate a total annual budget of \$37,500 for minimum service.¹⁴ Many rural counties of the United States do not have a population of 25,000 though there may be as many as ten rural communities within their borders. Thus any attempt to meet these standards in rural areas would involve a rather complete change in present library organization. If good service depends upon adequate population, then movements toward that reorganization need the support of all rural agencies.

THE TRADITIONAL ORGANIZATION AND SERVICE OF THE RURAL LIBRARY

Overcoming the concept of library service and organization held by those rural people in areas with inadequate service is almost as difficult a hurdle in library development as adequate financing. A rural person who has made no use of a library in the past is not easily convinced that he should be taxed to provide service in the future. A library in a rural village that provides only ten hours of library service per week can build but little desire for library service on the part of farmers in the surrounding service area of the village. When efforts are made to organize county or regional libraries, the resistance to such a movement in farm areas is often based on a very warped opinion of what library service actually is. These people cannot help hav-

¹³ Wisconsin Free Library Commission, *The Wisconsin Wide Library Idea*, Madison, Wisconsin Free Library Commission, 1948, pp. 4-59.

¹⁴ Converted to a 1952 index, these figures would be \$1.65, \$2.50 and \$3.38 per capita.

ing warped opinions; anyone living in an area with inadequate library facilities would probably develop the same reaction.

Library development must overcome the negative attitude toward better service through sound educational programs prior to the proposals for county or regional libraries. Rural people need to be educated to the real meaning of library service. Until they understand it and see its values from a new vantage point, they cannot be expected to accept and aid in library development.

INSUFFICIENT DEMAND FOR SERVICE

Urban people demand the most in library facilities and service; rural village demand is less, and demand from the rural farm areas is least. Loomis and Beegle's review of studies, referred to previously, shows clearly the differential demand among these groups.¹⁵ Although these surveys vary considerably, they do portray the consistency of the differential demand among the three groups considered—urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm.

Basic to the lower demand on the part of farm residents is the sparsity of population and their lower level of formal education. The sparse population makes adequate library service difficult and expensive to obtain on anything less than a county or regional basis. Even on a county basis we find that two-thirds of the counties of the United States have less than 25,000 population, the minimum base for service as recommended by the American Library Association. This difficulty is one that has beset schools and almost all other agencies of education serving farm areas. In library service, since the minimum population for service must be even larger, the problem is still more difficult. The availability of service varies among states and among counties within states. In 1942 the American Library Association reported a range in availability of service to the rural population of from 90 to 100 percent in several New England states, Wyoming and California, to only 10 percent in North Dakota. In Wisconsin, which reported 22 percent of the rural population not supporting any kind of library service in 1952, the range among counties in terms of provision of service for rural areas was from 9 percent in Burnett County to

¹⁵ Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-322.

100 percent in a number of counties.¹⁶ Even in counties with 100 percent participation in support of library programs, the per capita support was so low that no one would consider the service adequate by any standard. In fact the highest per capita expenditure, with the exception of a state-aided demonstration project, was sixty-six cents, or less than one-third of the A.L.A. minimum standard.

Though sparsity of population is a significant physical and economic reason for little library usage by rural residents, a more significant reason for educators is the real difference that exists among the education levels of the farm, nonfarm, and urban population. A desire to read and to continue to read either for pleasure or learning is developed in our public schools. Evidently it is not being developed to as great an extent in rural as in urban schools. This may be because of the fewer years of schooling, the lower teacher standards accepted in rural areas, or the fact that the books available in rural areas are not sufficient or of the proper kind and quality to encourage continued interest in reading and library use when the school child becomes an adult. Correlated with the little demand for library service in farm areas is the small supply of books in farm homes. In summarizing this scarcity of reading materials in rural areas, Kreitlow points out that the farm home book supply increases reading opportunities very little. Studies showed that 17 percent of Minnesota farm homes surveyed had no books at all, with the average number of books being 36 volumes per family. Studies in Missouri showed fewer books in homes of tenants than in homes where farms were owned.¹⁷

Loomis and Beegle bring together evidence supporting the contention that reading and use of library facilities are closely associated with economic class and level of education reached.¹⁸ Since many farmers are considered to be at the lower end of economic classifications, it is not too surprising that their reading and library use habits are below middle-class professional and service workers. The combination of the

¹⁶ Free Library Commission, *Wisconsin Public Libraries*, Madison, Free Library Commission, 1952, pp. 20-28.

¹⁷ Burton W. Kreitlow, "The Sociological Aspects of Leisure Reading on the Farm," Unpublished Seminar Report, University of Minnesota, 1946, pp. 12-14.

¹⁸ Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 533-535.

farmers' low economic rank and his low level of education are significant in establishing the low level of reading demand among farmers.

THE SCHOOL AND RURAL LIBRARY SERVICE

Rural village and open country schools have always been in need of library service. In most states the adequacy of rural school libraries is subject to question, and the availability of county and regional libraries is limited to less than one-fourth of the counties where they even approach adequacy. The public library can be considered supplementary to the school library and vice versa. In any school a wealth of books and other library facilities are needed and must always be available. In many rural communities the library service available through the public schools is superior to the often ill-housed and partially staffed public library. The school library is designed for children and high-school youth and must not be confused with adequate service on a community level. Where good school libraries exist, it may be unnecessary for the county library to emphasize its program for that age group. Where poor school libraries are the pattern in a county, the public library has a responsibility to make sure its service shows awareness of the needs of school age children and youth. That the schools make use of public libraries is a recognized fact. Books and facilities are made available in many different ways. Two patterns of usage will be considered. The first deals with efforts by libraries to bring books to the schools through traveling libraries, bookmobiles, and developing an awareness on the part of students of the library facilities. The second deals with the obtaining of service for the school through extra efforts of the teacher or the administration.

BRINGING SERVICE TO THE SCHOOL

One of the earliest and most significant efforts made to extend library service to rural schools and to rural people in general has been that made by state library agencies. In most cases these service agencies are called traveling library divisions, or they have titles of similar meaning. They exist for the express purpose of providing collections of popular books, periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, pictures, record-

ings, and films to schools, small libraries, or groups requesting them. They were developed mainly to provide service to rural areas, and have developed very complete service in about one-third of the United States. All states have some library service of this type. In writing of the service to rural schools and rural communities by state libraries, Mrs. Loleta D. Fyan states, "Many state libraries have large collections of well-selected materials covering a broad range of subjects, they often have special collections that are the best in the state. . . . If the library does not have what you want, it will borrow from other large libraries, or will direct you to specialized collections in other places."¹⁹

For most of the past half century, books and materials have been made available to schools through the traveling library developments of state libraries. Though one might conclude that the need for this service should have disappeared with the age of modern transportation and communication, it has not. Because there are thousands of schools without proper library facilities, the efforts of state libraries are needed now more than ever. They by no means provide a permanent solution nor even a top-rate temporary solution to rural schools, but they do improve upon the meager service which might otherwise be available.

A much more permanent means of making library service available to rural schools is through the extension of service to the schools from central county or regional libraries with bookmobiles. It is only with the availability of complete and regular service that aids to the school by public libraries can be effective. When the school district is a part of a county or regional library unit, then long-time planning can take into account all the aspects of service that are needed by the schools, and decisions can be made as to which services are to be supplied by the schools and which will be aided by the public library. The service provided rural areas and particularly open country rural schools by bookmobiles is unmatched by any other system yet devised. When used as it should be, the bookmobile is used "as an introduction to a main library or a large branch, as an indicator of book interest in a

¹⁹ Alfred Stefferud, ed., *The Wonderful World of Books*, New York, The New American Library, 1953, p. 264.

community that later might justify a branch, or to bring library service to thinly populated areas, small centralized schools, and small communities . . . the bookmobile can perform a valuable service at a comparatively low cost."²⁰

Bookmobiles bring to rural schools that which they could afford by no other means. This service is most effective when direct, that is, the bookmobile unit makes a scheduled stop at the school. Children have an opportunity to select their own books, to confer with the librarian, to order books they want that are in the central library, and to request materials and aids that groups of children may desire in furthering their school work. Bookmobiles must have their own adequate supply of books and materials so that they can meet the needs of the many groups they serve—schools, village book stations, farm homes, cross-road store book stations, and rural clubs and organizations. This source must be such that those using the bookmobile service are able to look toward its scheduled stop in anticipation of the new reading experiences it will provide or the answers it will bring to the requests left the last time it was visited.

Though the bookmobile can be of invaluable service to rural schools and school children, we should keep in mind that this is only one of its functions. It is basically designed and operated to bring service to those who would otherwise find library service difficult to obtain. Children are only a part of this group, and bookmobile service should be provided for all citizens in areas where good service by other means would be difficult.

SCHOOL EFFORTS TO OBTAIN LIBRARY SERVICE

Where school districts are large in terms of numbers of children in schools, it is possible to supply nearly all the library needs for that age group in the school itself. Yet it is in these instances that often the best use is made of other library facilities. This is especially true of city school systems. In districts involving rural communities or parts of rural communities, the facilities that schools can offer in the way of library service are limited. They need to make full use of the library services brought to them by state library extension, by county and

²⁰ Stefferud, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

regional libraries, or else make every effort to obtain additional service themselves.

This latter alternative has not been particularly effective. The school administrative units, even in total rural community schools, are too small to own and operate their own complete libraries. The open country district, with from one- to eight-room schools at the elementary level, are even more handicapped. To gain some additional service, teachers have often made special individual efforts to borrow books and materials from other libraries. It is not unusual to see a teacher of a one-room school unload twenty or thirty books from her car on a Monday morning when she arrives at her school. On her Friday evenings or Saturdays she visits a library in some nearby (or often distant) town and finds what she can for her own pupils. In other cases the county superintendent of schools, the supervisor or principal of a community district arranges for traveling supplies of books to be rotated among the small schools under his jurisdiction. These efforts help, but in most cases give only a sampling of what a good library could provide. Of all the schools in rural America, the library facilities and services available to the one-room school are by far the weakest. The teachers' efforts and those of others may give the children some small idea of the horizons that can be opened by the library, but even then it is but a beginning. Thousands of one-room schools have libraries with a total book list of less than three hundred volumes, and no other library materials. With eight grades in the school, this means less than forty volumes at any particular grade level. If one were to eliminate the inappropriate books from these small libraries, the numbers actually available would be considerably less. This is the only type of library available to many boys and girls growing up in rural areas of the country. In terms of developing sound reading habits and experience in use of the library that could develop a life-long friendship with books, the rural child has little opportunity.

Though the more complete and adequately financed libraries are bringing some service to rural schools, and school people obtaining additional service by extreme effort, the library service picture for rural boys and girls is bleak. The reading habits of rural adults have been produced on a very infertile soil. The background of reading and

reading opportunity is a significant consideration for the rural educator when he attempts to develop any program in a rural community.

ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE RURAL LIBRARY SERVICE

The libraries are becoming a more significant and important agency in our modern culture. The library is both a storehouse and a distributor of knowledge and, as such, becomes more significant with each new and increasingly complex advancement of our times. The movement toward an older population and increasing demands for programs of adult education place new demands upon the library. The new ideas of modern education for more opportunity for young people to seek truth from many sources rather than from a single text also require a wider resource of materials, many of which can only be supplied through libraries. With these new demands and an inadequate rural library with which to begin, it makes the development of service difficult. Improvement of rural library service will be considered in terms of four major developments now in progress. They are reorganization of libraries into units with an adequate financial structure, reorganization of service, developing an understanding of the library's role in total community relationships, and training youth for intelligent library usage.

REORGANIZATION OF LIBRARY UNITS

When it is realized that the library units in rural areas are too small to adequately support good service, one of the first considerations becomes—How can the units be changed so they can serve? About one-third of the population of the United States is served by libraries with incomes too small to provide good service. The rural village libraries generally are in this group of 7000 libraries with less than \$37,500 annual income. The farm areas surrounding these villages are generally those without any library service. Thus reorganization of library units is basically a rural undertaking.

A library reorganization movement may have its beginning in the efforts of a single person or organization in a county or region. From this beginning must grow concerted action by all kinds of people in all parts of the area being considered. Reorganization of library units

takes concerted citizen action, like that necessary in reorganization of school districts. Actual changes in the organizational structure of the library unit will come when county commissioners, supervisors, school people, representatives of rural organizations, town boards, and the citizen public are convinced that better library service is needed, and that reorganization is one means of obtaining it.

A county or regional library service is described in a bulletin of the United States Department of Agriculture as being a library system where

. . . books are taken to the remotest parts of the region from a headquarters library, which serves as a main reservoir. Books are distributed through branch libraries in community centers; through service stations at convenient points like crossroads stores, schools, and homes; and often by a book automobile or library on wheels. The smaller lending collection in farm areas are frequently exchanged—the books that have been read in one station go on to another. Whatever the methods used, the object is to put books and other reading materials within easy reach of every citizen.

Branch libraries in towns and villages have their own reading rooms and reference collections like a separate town library, but unlike the separate town library, they can draw on the resources of the large regional book collection and on the advice and help of the experienced and especially trained regional librarian. The existing town libraries in a section where county or regional service is established, find that they do well to affiliate with it, to get access to its larger resources and specialized services.

The good county or regional library can afford to have a trained and experienced librarian to organize and administer the service. In the many communities throughout the section where there are book-lending stations, however, local workers serve as custodians, and in this way a close touch with the interests and needs of the local borrowers is possible. The regional librarian makes frequent visits to branches and stations and travels with the book automobile if one is used. He or she gives the local workers any help they need and talks directly with rural readers, fitting the reading materials into the programs and projects of rural organizations.²¹

The standards of adequacy for a county or regional library have been established by the American Library Association. Though financial adequacy will vary with the economic conditions of the country,

²¹ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Rural Library Service*, Farmers Bulletin No. 1847, Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1940, p. 13.

the most recent standards that are particularly applicable to rural libraries will be described. The per capita standards of library service have been developed and substantiated by adding up carefully determined unit costs for the various items of library expense where recommended standards of service are maintained. The basis of these standards is well established. Library income for limited or minimum service should be \$1.50 per capita with a population base of no less than 25,000 persons.

Registration of adult borrowers 15 years of age and older should be at least 20 percent of the population of large cities to 40 percent for the smallest villages.

An average of 3 to 10 volumes should be circulated annually for adults and young people 15 years of age and older. For children 5 through 14 years of age, 10 to 30 volumes should be circulated annually. The higher per capita figures apply to the small communities and the lower ones to the larger communities.

The readily available book stock should be at least 4000 volumes in villages of 500 to 2000 population. In larger communities, there should be at least four volumes per capita of active, up-to-date, usable materials. Three to four tenths of a volume should be added annually.²² In developing regional libraries, political boundaries should be adhered to unless there are very obvious advantages to some other arrangement. Natural trading and economic areas should be given careful consideration in developing a new unit. The area of the reorganized library unit should be such that transportation from the most distant point to the library headquarters requires no more than two hours of normal driving speed.

The division of responsibilities between the central library and the local units in a newly reorganized county or regional library is in need of clarification prior to its development. The local units will fear loss of their autonomy when reorganization takes place; thus they usually demand clarification of the various responsibilities in advance of change. The following division of responsibilities has been suggested by one state agency in preparation for library reorganization.

²² Wisconsin Library Bulletin, *Wisconsin Standards for Public Libraries*, Madison, Wisconsin Free Library Commission, November, 1949, p. 132.

Those responsibilities which might fall mainly to the county or regional governing board or staff are:

Selection of personnel for the advisory staff.

Provision for quarters, equipment, and upkeep of this central office.

Regional pool of books to be circulated to all parts of the area as a supplement to local collections.

Bookmobile and bookmobile service to rural and unserved areas.

Those responsibilities which might be shared by the central agency and the local cooperating units jointly are:

Clerical and mechanical services incident to centralization of all purchasing, cataloguing, and processing of books.

Centralizing routine processes gives the local staff time to concentrate on the more important human and personal service phases of library work.

Development of branches, book stations, etc., for rural and other unserved areas.

Those strictly local responsibilities are:

Local personnel selection and management.

Local selection and management of permanent book stock.

The provision of quarters and buildings.

The initial establishment of a larger library unit may necessitate financing by the county or counties concerned or even certain state supports. The larger unit acts as a parent to help the smaller units get under way.²³

Financial aid from state sources is often considered advisable in encouraging local units to reorganize for better service. State aids often are the only effective means of getting local units over the rather heavy establishment costs the first one or two years of regional library operation. After that time, even the less wealthy areas can support a library which is effectively organized. Seven important elements in a pattern of regional library service are suggested by Joeckel. They are:

1. General and centralized direction by an able supervisory staff.
2. A headquarters located more or less centrally for office work, processing, storage, etc.

²³ Wisconsin Free Library Commission, *The Wisconsin Wide Library Idea*, pp. 6-7.

3. A regional pool of circulating books.
4. Local service to unserved areas.
5. Service reciprocity throughout the region.
6. Bookmobile service to communities and open country without libraries.
7. Joint state (or county) and local support.²⁴

These patterns of service are possible only under a library system organized on a basis of sound finance. It is on this base that service to patrons can be developed; once developed, library service tends to sell itself.

REORGANIZATION OF LIBRARY SERVICE

The improvement of library service to rural people is the major objective of the reorganization of the various small library units. Thus when reorganization of the unit occurs, reorganization of service should develop. Though some services have little if any possibility of development until an adequate financial base for the library is obtained, other services can be improved without waiting. It is essential in the development of library service that rural organizations and agencies further library service by either or both means. The strengthening of existing local community library service so that it becomes of educational consequence is significant to every professional educator, the rural teacher, the county home agent, the lecturer of the local Grange, and the rural minister.

Just what is good rural library service? It varies with the community's concept of a library. Where the library is understood to be an agency which helps coördinate its work with all aspects of the community's cultural, social, and educational development, the following services are most important:

1. Service outlets: branches, stations, mobile units, etc.
2. Services for children: story hours, book talks, library instruction; services to camps, recreation centers; cooperative work with youth agencies and schools, etc.
3. Service for teen agers: special teen-age "corners," personal guidance, vocational interest materials, etc.
4. Services to homemakers: service and books on child care, nutrition, health; "how-to-do-it" and party helps, etc.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

5. Service to business and professional people, clubs and organizations: technical, governmental and vocational materials supplemented by program of leadership training in cooperation with educational agencies.
6. Information and reference services: basic collections of standard reference books supplemented by government documents, pamphlets, bulletins, etc.
7. Informal adult education programs: study and discussion groups, provision of meeting rooms, etc.
8. Service to shut-ins, hospital service, institutions: individual service through book collections; special collections on sight-saving, projected books; books for handicapped.
9. Audio-visual materials: films, filmstrips, recordings, etc.
10. Publicity: planned newspaper program; book marks; special library-sponsored activities; community calendar; lists including club chairmen, speakers' bureaus, radio and TV programs, etc.²⁵

In addition to the above services, and standards related to minimum income, numbers of registered borrowers, numbers of books circulated, and books added annually per capita, it is well to consider the hours the library is open for public use. The A.L.A. post-war standards suggest 40 annual man-hours of direct public service for each 100 persons in the population. In addition, they indicate that no more than 60 percent of that time be devoted to circulation procedures. The broader the concept of library service the less time actually will be devoted to circulation. Many rural libraries are no more than book stations whose librarians spend all their time on circulation procedures, and this for no more than 10 to 15 hours per week. The suggestion for hours of service by the local library in a county or regional unit is made by Wisconsin's Free Library Commission²⁶ as being:

<i>Population</i>	<i>Hours per Week</i>
2,000 or less	18
2,000 to 4,000	36
4,000 to 8,000	48
8,000 to 10,000	60
10,000 and up	75

²⁵ Free Library Commission, *Wisconsin Public Libraries*, Madison, Wisconsin Free Library Commission, December, 1952, p. 8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

An important aspect of all reorganization of library service in rural areas is the change or addition of service to meet library needs of farmers and small village citizens. Loomis and Beegle report that the size of the trade center is positively related to pulling power of a library, while distance is negatively related. This conclusion necessitates the extension of service to the smaller rural centers through use of regional library resources. Because the American public is less conscious of its need for the services of a library, it is concluded that library facilities should be brought within a few miles of the people for maximum usage.²⁷ The general policy in reorganizing library service is to take the libraries to where the people are, rather than putting the burden of inconvenience on the people and making them come to the library. The latter can be accomplished only after effective service has proved the value of the library.

DEVELOPING A NEW CONCEPT OF THE LIBRARY

The fact that rural America has had so many small inadequate libraries, and in many instances none at all, has helped establish a concept of libraries and librarianship that is extremely narrow. Needed now is an understanding of the library's total framework of objectives including education, information and inspiration, as well as recreation. This can be developed first by adequate library units, but just as important are professional rural librarians who see and carry out their jobs in relation to total community purposes. Joeckel and Winslow point out in this regard that "the librarian who will insure for his institution the place which it must occupy, will start with people rather than books. He will seek understanding of men and sympathy with the individual's needs and abilities. His interest in people will not be an academic concept, but the result of an inner warmth which makes itself felt in his actions."²⁸

A recent statement of policy by a regional library in Wisconsin shows how this concept of the community library influences the viewpoint toward library service. The policy statement reads, "The community outside the library walls is the living, changing world that gov-

²⁷ Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 526-528.

²⁸ Joeckel and Winslow, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

erns the contents inside the library. It is this world a librarian must know."²⁹

With this comprehensive meaning of the word *library*, the scope of the library program and its services to rural people take on new and more significant meaning. The library becomes more than a place to borrow a book; it becomes a usable resource for all community problems. The complexity of modern rural life demands a library that is aware of and often ahead of the problems raised by its complexity. Improvement of library service, no matter how necessary, cannot be effective unless it carries with it the citizens' understanding of its broad community responsibilities.

TRAINING YOUTH FOR INTELLIGENT LIBRARY USE

Evidence presented previously has indicated clearly that the demands for reading materials and library service in rural areas are relatively low. Various reasons for this attitude have been considered, yet one important means of creating a demand for libraries is the training of school age youth.

Evidently the methods used to train school children in leisure reading have not been too effective. Yet the school is the place where a concentrated effort for improvement can be made. There have been some very successful teachers in the field but, as a whole, little progress has been made. We have known for some time that elementary-school children will read what is accessible to them. Thus the most significant factor in the development of wholesome reading habits and tastes becomes the informal exposure of children to an abundance of good books and magazines in the home, school, and public library.³⁰

Hamilton has found that reading is too often expected without encouragement, and that periods of free-time reading should be guided under specific categories so that the child can see organization and purpose for his use of reading time.³¹

²⁹ Wisconsin Free Library Commission, *Wisconsin Library Bulletin*, Madison, Free Library Commission, March, 1951, p. 42.

³⁰ National Society for the Study of Education, *The Teaching of Reading, A Second Report*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937, p. 186.

³¹ Dwight Hamilton, "Interesting Your Pupil in Free Reading," *The Grade Teacher*, October, 1942, p. 58.

By exposure to a variety of areas, children can develop interests commensurate with their own ability and needs. The poverty of reading interests which characterizes so many adults today attests to the fact that reading instruction cannot proceed on the assumption that because a child learns to read he necessarily will want to read. Lazar and LeBoit point out that only if the reading program creates in the child an enduring interest in books will he continue to read widely as an adult.³²

Gardner and Ramsey claim that the presentation and availability of good reading material is the key to developing pupil interest in a better literature. They believe that, if the teacher can present good literature in a sufficiently attractive manner with due consideration for children's interests, she may hope to counteract the influence of the trivial, the commonplace, and the vicious by rendering permanently interesting the books that offer enjoyment, foster noble ideals of conduct, and stimulate the clear thinking that makes for growth of character.³³

One of the difficulties with general recommendations on improved reading habits is that the lack of books, magazines, and other supplies in the one- and two-room rural schools is such that teachers are inclined to say it is impossible under present conditions and give up. Even with meager supplies, however, some advancement of the reading program is possible. Sometimes the rural teacher needs an awakening to the developments possible under her guidance in spite of short supplies. It may even stir her to an attack for more books in her school. If a rural teacher steps out and fights for something she knows will benefit the pupils, and is able to point out the why to local school boards, she will be surprised at the increased interest shown in the school.

To be a wise guide of the reading habits of youth, a teacher must herself keep up with the best reading. To expect teachers to read all literature would be out of the question but by constantly surveying

³² May Lazar and Lillian J. LeBoit, "Guiding the Growth of Reading Interests," *Education Digest*, January, 1946, p. 34.

³³ Emelyn E. Gardner and Eloise Ramsey, *A Handbook of Children's Literature: Methods and Materials*, Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Company, 1927, p. 16.

book lists and other materials prepared for that purpose, they are able to give intelligent reading guidance.

The school and its teachers have the major roles to play in developing in youth the desire for the kind of services a library can provide. The demand for improved library service in rural areas will become greater as present-day youth become adults. Not only will they nearly all have obtained a high-school education, which in itself increases their desire for library service, but many will have come under the influence of schools and teachers that were more concerned with individual pupil development than a narrow textbook-conditioned curriculum.

THE ROLE OF OTHER EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES IN IMPROVING LIBRARY SERVICE

The library cannot lift itself by its own bootstraps. If it is developed on the basis of broad service to rural people and rural agencies, it need do no more than provide the leadership for such development. All agencies and organizations will benefit by good library service, and each has a role to play in seeing that adequate library facilities and service are available for its own use and the use of its constituents. The importance of good libraries to good schools and the role of the school in library activities have been considered. In addition, the increasing emphasis on adult programs related to the schools gives an added area where library service can be helpful. Farm organizations have endorsed the principle of library service for all, as have community organizations, youth groups, public health associations, rural church associations, and service and luncheon clubs. Endorsement, however, is only the first step in obtaining good libraries; the second is open and outright effort on a county or regional basis; the third is a willingness to coördinate these efforts with others seeking the same objectives; and the last is a willingness to support a good library once established.

The Agricultural Extension Service is in one of the best positions to take the lead in the encouragement and awakening of other groups and individuals to the necessity of better library service. Evidence from past efforts shows that it can be effective in this role. Often an agency

other than the library can make more rapid initial progress, since it is not as likely to be considered selfishly engaged in the promotion of better libraries. Libraries in counties and regions with sound library organizations have become indispensable assets to the educational programs of all rural groups.

If rural people want library service badly enough, they will get it. If they don't know what good service is, they will not want it. This points to one focus of effort that rural agencies might concentrate upon: arousing in the rural citizen a desire for service and a knowledge on his part that it will be worth what he is asked to pay.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A.
 1. Investigate the extent of rural library service in your state. Obtain reports of your state library commission or similar organization.
 2. What is the general reaction of farmers to library service in your county?
 3. Confer with your local librarian on the characteristics of the average book borrowers in your community.
 4. How does your local library compare with the standards proposed by the American Library Association?
- B.
 1. A survey of the kind and quality of reading materials available in the homes of a selected rural community would be a desirable class or study-group activity.
 2. What is the likely influence of a comprehensive rural library on the program of farm organizations? of adult programs sponsored by schools?
 3. In what ways can the Agricultural Extension Service cooperate with rural libraries?
 4. What problems of rural library development are similar to those developmental problems of the rural school?
 5. What are the most desirable school-library relationships? How can they be developed?
 6. What handicaps of the rural library are the most difficult to overcome? Why?

CHAPTER 17

Trends in Rural Living and Their Influences on Education

It has been noted many times in this study of the community backgrounds of rural education that changing conditions in rural life affect the kind and quality of education which exists. Certain new developments demand almost immediate educational adjustment, while others build pressures for change over a longer period of time. Noted also has been the resistance of rural society to change to these new conditions. The traditions of rural people have appeared to be stronger than those of urban people, so the backlog of changes remains high. Many essential adjustments will be necessary with each changing factor in the rural community.

This final chapter will summarize the most significant changes and trends in rural living and suggest their possible influences. It would be particularly desirable to consider each trend in relation to some specific rural community rather than in terms of broad generalizations. However, the generalizations will be used, and the reader is encouraged to focus them on specific communities.

The trends in rural living will be described in terms of those most closely related to the rural home and family, the social organizations of the total society, and the changes in farming.

TRENDS IN HOME AND FAMILY LIVING

LESS PARENTAL CONTROL

The strict control of children by parents has been declining for several decades. This lessening of control is most apparent in rural

society among the present parents of school-age children. The movement generally is one from strong patriarchal or matriarchal control to a shared or democratic control. As is often the case in such a change, certain groups move faster than others, causing difficulty among those maintaining the old customs. Other families move away from strong parental control toward a type of anarchy in the family where control of any kind is spurned. In other families the change is leading to such emphasis on the children that only an immature type of controlled family life results.

In any case, the changing parental control in the family raises significant educational problems. Where there is a uniform type of family life in the rural community, there may be a uniform control in the school. Where rural families are being controlled in different ways, a greater understanding of the individual child is demanded of each person who works with him. It also points to a problem area, "family relations," that can well be the focus of attention among those educators working with adults. This problem area was recognized much earlier by urban society. There is increasing evidence that the changing rural family is evoking the same response among the agencies of rural education.

This change provides the children with greater opportunities for recognition and the taking of responsibilities in the home, and demands of the schools a type of educational activity which will teach children how they might use this new found opportunity to the best advantage. The programs of the 4-H Club and other youth agencies are more amenable to rapid change toward teaching democratic control than are the schools. In fact, the less formal educational groups have already taken the lead in adjusting to the changing conditions in rural family life.

INCREASED ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE HOME

Where once the center of nearly all activities of the farm family was under one roof, today there is a tendency for each member to go his or her own way in search of satisfying activities. On a Sunday evening, in place of sitting around the hearth in relaxation or at work on some family project, the family today is scattered in almost as many

locations as there are family members. Dad may be in the electrically lighted machine shed puttering with a new gadget for the tractor, mother watching television, daughter at a meeting of the Junior Church League, and son on a date with a girl from a nearby village. Almost overnight a realm of new opportunities has opened to farm people. There can be no question that these opportunities will influence them.

Educational groups have an opportunity to direct those changes into desirable channels. Wise and purposeful selection of activities is made only after proper training and experience. Without these, "trial and error" methods take over. The well-directed activities of persons outside the home can add much to the understandings, skills, and attitudes of those participating. The role of the school should be one that will add to the child's ability to use his outside experiences wisely. Informal educational agencies will often be the sponsors of the outside activity the youth or adult chooses as an alternative to staying home. If rural people continue to spend more and more of their time away from home, then educational agencies, in order to be of service, must compete successfully with commercial recreation, taverns, and time-killing activities. The educator's job is to work for the most productive use of the citizen's time. The schools have the greatest opportunity to begin, when the children are young, to develop healthy attitudes and values that are a basis for intelligent selection of activities after school age. The other educational institutions must have programs attractive enough and useful enough, or their efforts will be concentrated on only a small part of the rural population. Educational programs must adjust to this change in rural activities if they are to maintain contact with the rural family.

INCREASING NUMBERS OF IMPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The primary relationships in the frontier rural family were a necessary and vital part of rural living. Even the early family life in cities tended to copy the wholesome relationships of the strong family unit. The environmental conditions soon broke this strong personal family relationship and the personal qualities of family life became distinctly different in rural and urban areas. Today the same factors which made

the change in city family life are at work decreasing the farm family's personal relationships. No longer must the family work as a self-sufficient productive unit. Baking bread in the home leads to a personal relationship between mother and daughter. Buying bread in a store leads to an impersonal and businesslike relationship between any member of the family and the store clerk. An all-day excursion to an open country church led to very close and personal relationships among members of the same neighborhood. Attendance at a one-hour church service in a village church leads to a much more impersonal relationship among those attending from the several neighborhoods.

The teacher will have to be particularly concerned with the background of every child she teaches during the period of change from the closely knit family unit with personal ties between family and neighbors to the more impersonal businesslike relationships that characterize the city dweller. Teachers know that some children cannot be treated in the same way as others because of mental differences. It is important that they also know how cultural and social differences might be taken into account.

Informal youth and adult education agencies should be concerned with the point at which the trend toward the impersonal relationships will stop. There are some serious questions on the degree to which the farm and village family can change without destroying some of the best qualities of rural living. Problems of this nature should be realistically attacked before the adjustments are completed. Although the public schools have a great concern with this problem, they are in a better position to give aid and guidance to other groups than to take the leadership role themselves. The leadership should be in the development of a well-considered program of rural living that makes the best of certain new impersonal attributes thrust upon society, yet at the same time it must not lose the security associated with the more personal relationships of the past.

INCREASED AVAILABILITY OF LEISURE TIME

The rural person has more time to use as he wishes than ever before. This is true in the village and on the farm. The farmer may

decide to use the extra time for extra production, or he may decide to run into town more often, or use it for other recreation. The farm wife, too, has several choices, and the children have inherited more free time than either of their parents. It was once absolutely essential for farm children to work hard as a part of the farming enterprise. To-day both the children and their parents have a chance to decide what is to be done with their leisure. It has been noted previously that high-school attendance has increased for rural children. That is one choice being made. The children are much better able to attend school than they were when they were needed on the farm. After graduation from high school, the choice of a college education is a practical alternative. Three decades ago choice of college would have worked a severe hardship in terms of the loss of a farm family laborer.

Newly acquired leisure for rural families means that important decisions on its use are going to be made by each individual. How well have our educators prepared the rural citizen to make these decisions? What worthy recreational opportunities are provided in rural communities? Do they compete favorably with commercial nonproductive types of activities in which citizens engage?

The wise use of leisure time is a necessary requisite to wholesome rural life. Instead of watching leisure accumulate and become dissipated, the agencies of rural education should seek to capture it and provide productive channels for its use. The approach here is two-fold: concern with the provision of leisure time facilities and activities, and concern with the education of youth and adults so that they can make intelligent decisions regarding the use of their own free time.

ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN STANDARDS

The increasing contacts between rural and urban people have necessarily led to an assimilation of ideas by both groups. The exchange and dissemination of ideas through the mass media is primarily an urban phenomenon. The daily newspapers come from the cities, news is reported by city dwellers, the editorials are written by city dwellers, the syndicated columns come from another city. The radio station staff is made up of urban citizens; even the farm journals are almost always prepared and printed in cities. Our motion pictures are produced

by crews and actors who live in cities or elite suburbs. Television stations are in large centers of population.

With the impact of these and other media on the rural family, it is not unsuspected that certain of the standards and values portrayed are influential in bringing a changed way of thinking to the rural family. If nothing else, the city life portrayed is glamorous and appealing to the rural person. It is appealing because it is different and has in it experiences the rural person does not have. Often, instead of the rural person examining the value of those standards for rural living, they are accepted and assumed to be desirable. What may be good for city may not be good for rural village or farm. Certainly there are rural standards and values worth saving, there are city standards worth copying, and there are new qualities worthy of development.

The agencies of rural education are in a position to study rural living along with their students or members, children or adults. Serious problems can be reduced by helping rural people make intelligent choices. In the process, new points of view can be developed, new ideas tried, and city ideas critically examined in a rural setting.

When urban values and standards have already been accepted, the adjustments to them can be made easier by intelligent guidance by schools, informal organizations, and leaders of government agencies. Occasionally it may be necessary to move from newly accepted urban ideas which are disruptive in their influence back to something more practical for a farm or rural village environment. Regardless of the stage of acceptance of urban ideas, the agencies of rural education can do much to make any selection more intelligent and any adjustment less disruptive.

MODERN FARM HOMES

The conditions of the rural home have shown evidence of phenomenal change during the past two decades. Electricity has become a veritable servant in both village and farm household. Rural homes are lighted as well as most urban homes, food is cooled in refrigerators (a complete change for most farm homes, where ice boxes were uncommon), deep-freeze units are in the basements or food is frozen in a locker plant in the village.

More than electricity has come to the farm home to make it modern. The farm wives during the past decade of higher farm income have been effective in accomplishing many changes in other facilities and equipment of a home that tend to make it modern. Kitchen cupboards have been added, indoor plumbing has been accomplished, old wood and coal-burning stoves have been replaced by those using electricity or bottle gas. Central heating has been added in many old farm and village homes that formerly used space heaters. New farm homes are almost universally modern in these and all other respects.

The modern farm home is no longer rare, and in many rural areas of the nation it is an accomplished change, one which has brought farm children one step closer to a common base with village and urban children. The educator can be misled by this factor and place too much emphasis on it as an equalizer. In reality its strongest implication for rural life may lie in its influence in making the farm an acceptable place for a rural girl to live after she marries. Many young women, after seeing the modern homes of most urbanites, have refused to consider returning to the farm to be a farmer's wife. With greater equality in the homes of urban and rural people, this factor will disappear.

More than any other educator, the home economist will need to take the new and developing modern farm home into account in her teaching. This will be true in high-school home economics, in the 4-H Club program, in the home agent's work with women's clubs, and in the specialists attached to government agencies such as the Farmers Home Administration.

The differences among farm families' homes are now more significant to the educator than the differences between farm and urban homes. With the development toward modern homes still under way, the opportunity is great for educators to make a real contribution in helping farm people make the change. There is also an important role here for the teacher of agriculture, the county agent and others working with the farmers. The plan for modernizing must fit into the total farm and home development program. There are times when certain expense items are not defensible in terms of the total farming

enterprise. This indicates greater concern and some coördinated planning by those working with farm people.

DECREASED NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE FARM HOME

In addition to the decreasing size of the individual farm family, there has been a significant trend away from several families living in the same house. A common situation was for the retired or semiretired farm family to live in the same house with the son's or daughter's family who were the farm operators. The older farm homes show that influence in their size and design. In addition to the older couple, the farm home was often the haven for unmarried members of the parents' family, whether bachelors, unmarried sisters, or widows.

The change taking place has been toward a separation of the greater family into separate units. The older retired couple will either have a separate and distinct part of the house made into an apartment, or they will have a small house built near the home of the son's or daughter's family. More work opportunities in village and city have helped reduce the number of extra family members that once went "back to the farm" when there was no other place to go. At the same time as these changes have occurred, the decreasing number of children per farm family has reduced still further the number of people living in the average farm home.

These changes have significance for all rural educators. The small rural schools have often become smaller, thus sparking the efforts toward school reorganization. The care of delinquent and dependent children is not now as easily delegated to some member of the larger family group, thus requiring greater efforts on the part of county welfare workers. Child care and training was easily passed on from one generation to the next when the generations lived in the same house. Now that they live in separate units there are many needs of this nature to be met by educational agencies. Here is an opportunity to bring to farm people new ideas in this field that might otherwise have been impossible to transmit.

The older farm couples, whether in their new little houses on the farms or in town, need to consider more than ever the ways in which

they can best use their leisure time. In the larger family group this was no problem; today it can well be an area toward which rural agencies can direct some of their efforts. It implies a better and different preparation for the later adult years than existed previously.

DECREASE IN THE PRACTICE OF FOLK ARTS AND SKILLS

Closely related to the larger family of several generations ago were the folk arts and activities that provided a healthy recreation and cultural enrichment for the young and old. The greater farm family was large enough to do many things together that become more difficult with only parents, three children, and no other relatives in the farm house. Likewise, the concomitant change from familylike neighborhoods to a neighborhood of fewer social contacts decreased the opportunities for church socials, music festivals, quilting bees, home talent plays, and neighborhood picnics.

Though present-day agencies at the community level should recognize the value of these old-time activities, they should not necessarily attempt to work toward their redevelopment. It is important to keep in mind that the decline and disappearance of some of these activities is a result of the changing neighborhood and changing family in rural society. Yet the needs of individuals, which were met by these activities, may go unfilled if acceptable substitutes are not provided at the community level. Commercial recreation and similar activities may meet certain of these needs, but are unlikely to provide the same quality of experience to the rural citizen as are provided by constructive community activities in various folk arts and skills.

TREND IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE TOTAL SOCIETY

CHANGE IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

Influencing rural life significantly during the past thirty years has been the changing relationship among various population groups. As the farm population did little more than maintain itself the urban and suburban groups expanded. Instead of maintaining a young and vigorous farm population, the tendency has been for the average age of farmers to increase. The ease with which people can now move from

place to place in the United States has made for a mobile population, and the farm group has been no exception. A marginal or submarginal farming area often becomes like a ghost town when industrial jobs are easy to get. On the other hand, it fills up when jobs are scarce. When a person feels that income is too low in one place, it is easy for him to move on and try something better. This ease in migration, whether among regions or between rural and urban, causes a certain instability in rural living that did not previously exist. But it does exist now, and provides an educational problem area that has implications for all educators.

In a stable and nonmigratory population, it may be possible to educate for specific jobs or at least for living in a particular localized area. This is not logical in the highly mobile rural population of today. The responsibility of all educational agencies becomes one of the development of persons of all ages so that they can set and reach sensible objectives for themselves, and meet and overcome any problem of living they are likely to meet.

It becomes essential for each educational group, whether it be school, farm organization, or government agency, to examine its own program in relation to the present pattern of living in rural society. There is a tendency for educational agencies to be complacent in what once was a good program. To educate effectively for rural living today and tomorrow, much of this complacency must be overcome.

THE RISING STANDARD OF LIVING

More food on the table, more clothes in the closet, more gadgets in the kitchen, more cars in and out of garages; and more people are still wanting more things than ever before in history. The rural people have kept up with the trend toward a higher standard of living. In fact, the farmer has accomplished more in this regard since 1940 than any like group in our society. The rural village family is not far behind, while the urban and suburbanites often set the pace.

Though the average farm family has a long way to go to reach the level of living of the urbanite, the evidence of the past two decades shows that the present discrepancy may soon disappear. It is evident that the farm and rural village family want to live well. They demand

many of the same staple items and luxuries as those sought by city dwellers. Often the rural family may copy city standards without seeing clearly how to fit them into the rural culture pattern. Educational groups have here an opportunity for service. Programs in home economics, whether by schools or the Agricultural Extension Service, need to be conditioned by both what is and what is desired. At the same time careful consideration should be given to those desires which stem from urban patterns of living. Some may fit the rural family, some may not, and there are others which need to be developed for rural life that in turn should not be transposed to cities. In this regard the leader or teacher working with young men and women beyond high-school age should be very careful in her analysis of what is desired and what is desirable.

THE DECLINE OF NEIGHBORING IN THE LOCAL SETTING

It is an interesting experience to talk with farmers who have lived on the same farm for fifty years. One of the sure-fire topics of conversation is the change from the days when they spent a Sunday afternoon or an entire evening visiting with the neighbors. The first comment in this regard generally concerns the lack of this practice among the younger farmers today. Further investigation points to the fact that even the old farmer tended to visit less after 1920; he still remembers a rare "honest to goodness" visit in the thirties but after that, "Well, guess we just don't do those things any more."

Neighboring has declined during the period of rapid change in transportation and means of communication. In the frontier rural society "neighboring" met certain needs that can now be met in other ways. Today the farmer has telephone, radio, and television. He has cars and trucks that speed transportation to the point where a five- or fifteen-mile jaunt into town is merely a half-hour breathing spell in a day filled with riding tractors and the use of push-button gadgets to grind the feed or clean the barn.

During the period that neighboring declined, there has been a real change in the reason why people contacted each other. Prior to 1920 relationships in the community were dependent upon location more than any other factor. Today they are dependent upon one's interest.

Rural people don't have to neighbor with those nearby to meet their social and recreational needs. A farmer may now exchange work with another farmer on the next farm, fish and hunt with a businessman from a village, play cards with relatives in the next community, join a veterans' organization that is county-wide, and drive to a city for special entertainment. Though the old-fashioned "neighboring" may have been lost in the process, the rural citizen is now freer to choose his friends and his activities than ever before.

To some extent this dependence upon things more distant than the family or neighbor group has influenced the independence and primary security of the farm family. Educational agencies must not overlook this change when their program is being developed. Certain of the old methods may not be effective in the new setting, yet too sudden a change may only serve to reawaken loyalties of the past, thus handicapping growth of the agency. The Soil Conservation Service, in its work with "neighbor groups," seems to have come closer to an effective method of reaching farmers than the agencies which attempt to use the "old neighborhood" or those which approve of no program at less than community level. The balance between the old and the new in neighborhood or community focus is different among communities and often among different areas of the same community. Because of this variation, the significance of knowing the community is becoming more important for all rural educators.

INCREASED EMPHASIS ON ORGANIZATIONS

Village dweller and farmer are members of more organizations than at any previous time in history. In addition, both have more organizations clamoring for their names on the roll of members than ever before. A few ruralites are known to belong to nearly every group for which they qualify. Some of these take leadership responsibility in several groups. A rather large group of the rural population belongs to no more organizations than is absolutely necessary, and takes no part in the ongoing programs of any. The distinct trend has been for more and more organizations to exist, and for more and more participation by rural people.

Besides being members of government units (school district, town,

county, etc.), the young farmer today can, if he wishes, take active part in more church organizations, more school activities for adults, more programs sponsored by the Agricultural Extension Service and other government agencies, and more special commodity groups than it would be possible to find time to attend. This wealth of organizational resources demands that many choices be made. First, whether or not to take part in a number of organizations and second, which organizations to join. Since most organized groups have educational objectives, it is important that the leadership make clear their purposes to possible members in the rural community. The schools appear to have a real opportunity to train their students to use critical judgment in selecting those activities they will participate in as adults.

After all, there have been thousands of recent scientific advances in agriculture and agricultural enterprises that force the rural citizen in village or on farm to seek efficient ways to keep up to date. Organizational activities are one means used, and as such compete with other sources of information and understandings.

It is entirely possible that certain communities may become over-organized so that effective work is done by no group. Educational leaders should be aware of this possibility, and are justified in efforts to coördinate or even combine the activities of several groups if it will aid the average citizen. In the past the emphasis was correctly focused on the provision of organizational outlets to meet educational, social, and recreational needs of the rural person. The present wealth of agencies and organizations in rural communities should lead to the development of quality programs in some, but demands a critical evaluation of all of them in terms of their worth in furthering the goals of the rural citizen.

GREATER INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN PEOPLE

The more specialized the farm, the village, and the city, the more dependent each has become upon the contributions of the other. When the farmer raised and processed food and clothing for his own use and sold only the surplus, he could have gotten on well (according to the standards of the day) without villager or urbanite. The villager and

the urbanite have always had a certain degree of dependence on the land but they, too, become more dependent upon each other, and in turn upon the farm, when, in order to survive, each segment and sub-segment of society produces some very special item that depends upon national distribution. The trend toward specialization in agriculture, along with major production for the market instead of the cellar, has moved our entire American society toward a type of interdependence that would lead to disaster if reversed.

Because of the balance between rural and urban interdependency, it becomes essential that those young people moving into their productive years understand more of the nature of our unfolding economic patterns. The rural community school has a major responsibility to develop this understanding, but with changes taking place as rapidly as they have in the past two decades, it is important that young adult and adult groups focus attention on this area too. That lack of understanding still exists is evident on radio and in newspapers almost every day. Yet almost every conflict between rural and urban people can be traced to lack of understanding one with the other. With future interdependency more certain, better understanding of the roles of each group is a vital goal of both urban and rural educational systems.

CHANGES IN AGRICULTURE

SPECIALIZATION IN FARMING AND AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES

The overall industrialization and specialization of urban society has had a counterpart in the changes in farming during much of the same period. Demands for special foods specially prepared means that it would be good business to provide them. Thus the great demands for canned foods has turned large acreages of farm land near canning factories into special crop areas that are used to meet an urban demand. The more recent frozen-food industry has tended to do the same but with even greater specialization in certain communities. The increasing demand for a high-quality product, as a result of either education or salesmanship, leads to further specialization on the part of farmers. Demands for high-quality dairy products produced under sanitary conditions meant the purchase of special equipment and the adoption of

new practices for the farmer. If a particular farming enterprise is too diversified, the farmer cannot afford the necessary expense for a quality product in everything produced. Thus his market is limited or he is forced to specialize to the extent that he can meet market demands.

Often in areas of specialized farming enterprises there has grown a demand for a special type of labor. Thus the migratory laborers who once were common only in the wheat fields of the West now can be found in certain parts of almost every state of the nation. They are needed in the fruit regions, for the canning factories, for the sugar beet harvest, and for the truck farms serving metropolitan areas.

Besides the important need for all rural educational groups to consider this new development, the school must develop a constructive role in trying to assist the migrant worker, child or adult. The migrant is a responsibility of many rural agencies, and often by the very nature of his movements is never in one place long enough for any agency to do an effective educational or social welfare job. As specialization increases, the responsibilities of our educational institutions toward the migrant increase proportionately.

This new type of agricultural enterprise also increases the responsibilities of education for the farmer settled on the land. Knowledge of market, production methods, new equipment, new methods, and a host of changing conditions are necessary to economic survival. Here is an important role for agencies purporting to meet the educational needs of rural adults. Likewise the schools, through their programs in vocational agriculture, are finding it important to keep the program up to date in terms of changing farming and marketing methods. It is very possible that the increase in farm size is a result of some farmers having the "know-how" to survive economically and expand, while the uninformed are unable to meet the conditions of the rapidly changing market demands.

CHANGES IN FARM SIZE

Two shifts in the size of American farms are occurring simultaneously. The first shift is an increase in farm size in those areas where farming is the only or the predominant enterprise. Here the influence

of mechanization, electricity, and other labor-saving devices, together with the more specialized markets, has meant that often the larger unit is the most efficient and thus the most desirable from the standpoint of the farmer seeking maximum economic gain.

The second shift in farm size is that toward the smaller farm that is actually no more than a part-time unit. The large farmer group that spends over one hundred working days off the farm each year, and actually receives more net income from nonfarm enterprises than from farming, is the group tending to reduce farm size. In this case five acres, ten acres, or often up to one hundred acres is only sufficient to keep a family at work part of the year. The rest of the time is spent working in villages or in cities. Modern commuter methods make this shift possible.

Both changes considered have a real influence on education. In open country areas the increase in farm size and machine operations decreases the student population of the rural community. In school communities where the pupil population is already too low for an efficient and effective educational program, this may lead to more immediate consideration of new district reorganization programs. The decrease in farm size near villages with part-time labor opportunities and near cities is rapidly increasing the pupil population and thus creating a real pressure on the use of existing facilities. These pressures are extremely critical when the influx of part-time farmers is great and when there is a tendency to resist immediate school changes by those who have been responsible for the school program under the old conditions of a stable or declining population.

At the adult level, educators have new problems arising out of the lack of understanding between the new part-time farmers and the old-line stock, or even between the part-time workers in the city and the city dwellers with whom they work. Often the city person who moves out into the open country on twenty acres of land is called a "squatter" by the full-time farmer. The "squatter" may increase this animosity by taking a real interest in improving the school facilities of the rural community since he sees in the school system the absence of facilities that were taken for granted in the city systems. It takes real patience

and understanding for a school administrator to educate both groups to a better understanding of their present situation which is neither the old rural community nor the city.

There is a real need for help in these "rurban" areas by all adult agencies that have been operating at the rural level. For these groups (Agricultural Extension Service, rural churches, rural libraries, etc.) it may be a distinct advantage to focus their attention on human relationships and community development problems during the years when major adjustments will of necessity be made. Whether or not these adjustments are made with understanding depends upon the responsible action of present educational leaders.

ELECTRIFICATION AND MECHANIZATION

Within the past decade electrification and mechanization of the farm have become so common that it is the unusual farm that does not have electricity. The work horses on American farms are now outnumbered by riding horses.

These advances in agriculture have had and will continue to have a real effect on the educational programs of rural communities. Not only have they influenced the content of courses in vocational agriculture, home economics, 4-H Clubs, elementary and secondary schools, and adult programs, but they are leading to some significant changes in where and when educational opportunities are offered. Any member of the farm family, or often the entire family, may be freer to attend educational functions during the so-called "busy season" than at any previous time, for the "busy season" has become more and more concentrated. Whereas plowing with horses was once a four-week operation in both fall and spring, it is now a one-week effort concentrated into either fall or spring, depending on a number of other conditions. With mechanization and electrification, the farming enterprise has become more flexible, a fact which educators should well recognize.

SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURAL DISCOVERIES AND MORE INTENSIVE PRODUCTION

The farmer has been predominantly a manual laborer. Today he must be a scientist, businessman and laborer integrated into a single

unit. This trend from laborer to specialist is a continuing process with no predictions as to where it may end. Hybrid corn in the thirties, artificial insemination in the forties, antibiotics in the fifties—the farmer is wondering seriously, “What next?”

Accompanying and often directly related to these and other scientific advances is an intensification of the agricultural production process. More commercial fertilizer is being used every year because it has been shown that it pays to produce a larger crop on the same acreage. Agriculturalists have been placing greater emphasis on soil conservation practices as a means of keeping up high production without depleting or losing the soil. Specialization in production has demanded greater knowledge of that specialty on the part of the farmer. He has desired the most efficient production system and one that maintains or improves the usefulness of his land. He has become more and more intensive in his operations and more competitive than ever before.

To bring new ideas to agriculture, and to educate for their proper utilization is a major responsibility of the rural adult education agencies. To see to it that the new farmer is up to date when he starts farming is a joint responsibility of home and school. With so many scientific changes taking place, it would be well to question seriously whether or not the schools have kept up, or whether they have become so inflexible that rapid scientific development has bypassed them. Preparation for rural living in a scientific agricultural age is far different than was that preparation in 1930. The more formal educational organizations are finding their adjustment to this change more difficult.

GREATER SECURITY OF FARM INCOME

Economic security above minimum levels of livelihood has been sought universally by farmers. It has been noted that the big farm organizations considered this as one of their important objectives. They all made sustained efforts to relieve economic distress, largely by the formation or encouragement of coöperatives and the seeking of more efficient methods of marketing farm crops.

Along with the general national trend for greater economic security as evidenced by the labor movement, pension plans, and social security, has been the effort for the farmer to gain security. The nature of

the farming enterprise has made this more difficult, and numerous means have been tried with varying support and success. The efforts of the United States government following the depression of the early thirties showed some evidence of success, but evoked mixed feelings because any program of security demands certain guarantees which, to the traditionally independent farmer, are considered a loss of freedom. In spite of a general reaction against losing any of that traditional freedom, there is evidence in both Democratic and Republican circles that economic security for the farmer is of great concern to them. The method and extent to which security will be guaranteed appear to be critical points of issue, yet, in spite of these differences, there have been real advancements in the security of the farmer through self-effort, coöperatives, and government.

This increase in economic security does have a positive effect on programs of education. Insofar as security leads to a more realistic approach to long-range planning, programs in rural education will be more stabilized than in the past. Financial difficulties have continually plagued the schools, and part of the difficulty has been the hesitancy of farm and village alike to look ahead educationally when they were insecure economically. As the rural citizen becomes more secure, his willingness to coöperate in educational planning and participate in the programs of the rural educational organizations will increase. It is imperative that this increased participation be well utilized.

FROM FARMING AS A WAY OF LIFE TO FARMING AS A BUSINESS

There were many fine things about the old-time farm family. There were examples of good family and neighborhood relationships. There was a leisurely winter season that poets have immortalized. There was a lack of the type of problems that often prove frustrating to the rural citizen today.

Sociologists, rural educators, ministers, and farm people themselves have often looked back on those experiences and exclaimed, "Those were the days!" They have gone on to describe the farm family of that period as participating in a "way of life." But there never has been a definition of the "way of life" that has been held up as an ideal. True, everyone who has ever lived in a rural environment or has studied

rural living has some idea of what is meant. Often the emotional connotations of the statement are filled with loyalties of the past. Yet it is impossible to change any segment of society as much as agriculture has been changed without affecting the way people live. In agriculture we can say the movement has been from farming as a "way of life" to farming as a business, and again the connotation is clear.

Specialization in farming and agricultural enterprises, changes in farm size, electrification and mechanization, scientific agricultural discoveries and more intensive production, and the greater security of farm income have worked together to change the farming enterprise, life on the farm, relationships between farm and village, and even the nature of the rural village.

Rural life today, whether in village or on the farm, is not what it was fifty years ago or ten years ago, even last year. The demands that are placed upon educational agencies working in a medium of constant change are so great that some major ones may not survive while others, which understand, will change and grow.

The public school, as the major educational agency of rural America, would do well to evaluate its own position immediately in relation to rural life, its purposes and its potential. This evaluation should focus attention on those objectives of education that the school is best able to meet, and also be aware of objectives which could best be served by other agencies.

The public school, Extension Service, rural church, rural library, and all the other significant rural groups have this responsibility for self-analysis and program evaluation. It is a responsibility to themselves but, more significantly, to their constituents—the people of rural America.

AIDS TO THE READER

- A. 1. Determine the extent to which each change considered in chapter 17 has occurred in your community.
2. When was each recognized by the citizens?
3. What was the nature of the earliest efforts to adjust educational programs to the changed community?
4. In which areas of education are there the greatest needs for additional developments?

- B. 1. What are the three most important changes that have taken place during the past fifty years in each of these categories:
- a. The rural family.
 - b. The social organization of our total society.
 - c. Agriculture and industry.
2. For each change listed above, indicate its direct and indirect effects on the following programs, identifying both those effects which have already begun to take place and those which you believe will occur in the future.
- a. Public schools, kindergarten through adult programs.
 - b. Agricultural Extension Service.
 - c. Farm organizations.
 - d. Rural church.
3. How well do the changes selected in (1) above compare with changes recognized by village and farm citizens? It would be well here to interview several village and farm people in regard to the changes they think have been most important.
4. What are the implications of changing rural life to the city citizen? How do changes in cities influence programs of rural education?
5. To what extent is adjustment to changes in rural living accepted by rural agencies and organizations?

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APPENDIX A

The School and Community

APPENDIXES

TEXT MATERIALS

Check (✓) the materials by the class activities in which they are used. Write the place by number in the "number" column, place the number of minutes from the numbered purposes at the bottom of the page.

Materials	Class in Which Used			Number	Minutes
	Small	Large	Other		
	Number 1-2	Number 3-4	Number 5-6		

- Encyclopedia
- Geographical dictionary
- Methods (Book, Book)
- Department of Agriculture
- American Year Book
- Classical Index
- World Atlas
- National Library
- University of Chicago
- Round Table America
- Town Meeting in Am. Civ.
- Governmental publications
- Records of Government
- Library
- Encyclopedia of Science
- Dictionary of Science
- Nationality
- Maplewood
- Class

1. This is intended to help and not to hinder. 2. For each material used in class, write the place by number in the "number" column, place the number of minutes from the numbered purposes at the bottom of the page.

APPENDIX A

The School and Community

DOCUMENTARY MATERIALS

Check (✓) the materials by the class or classes in which they are used. Indicate the grades by number. In the "purpose" column, place the number or numbers from the numbered purposes at the bottom of the page.

Documents	Classes in Which Used				Other Classes	Grade Purpose ^a
	Social Studies	Lang. Arts	Science	Math.		
Encyclopedias						
Biographical dictionaries						
Yearbooks (bluebook, Department of Agriculture, American Year Book)						
Cumulative indices						
<i>World Almanac</i>						
<i>Statistical Abstract</i>						
Pamphlets (U. of Chicago Round Table, American Town Meeting of Air, etc.)						
Governmental publications						
Records of Government agencies						
Records of civic organizations						
Diaries—local history						
Newspapers						
Magazines						
Others						

^a 1. Provide interesting teaching materials. 2. Promote development of scientific attitude. 3. Permit intelligent solution of community problems. 4. Provide data to show relationships between communities (stimulate perspective). 5. Others (indicate).

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

Check (✓) audio-visual aids by the class or classes in which they are used. Indicate the grade or grades by number. Place the correct number or numbers in the "Purposes" column. (See list at bottom of page.)

Aid Used	Classes in Which Used					Grade	Purpose ^a	No. of Times Used Annually
	Social Studies	Lang. Arts	Science	Math.	Other Classes			
Movie projector								
Strip film projector								
Slide projector								
Stereoscope								
Records or transcriptions								
Maps								
Charts								
Graphs								
Models								
Pictures								
Specimens (Science, History, etc.)								
Exhibits								
Television								
Others								

- ^a 1. Furnish vivid experiences.
2. Provide a simplified view of complex data.
3. Personalize geographically distant scenes and events.
4. Make the past more real.
5. Economize time.
6. Entertain.
7. Others (indicate).

RESOURCE VISITORS

Check (✓) the class or classes in which resource visitors were used. Indicate the grade or grades by number. Place the correct number or numbers in the "Purpose" column. (See list.)

Resource Visitors	Classes in Which Used					Other Classes	Grade	Purpose ^a
	Social Studies	Lang. Arts	Science	Math.				
Early settlers								
Parents								
Recreation director								
Public-health nurse								
City manager or mayor								
Conservation officer								
Red Cross worker								
Minister								
Librarian								
Newspaper editor								
Theater manager								
Farmers								
Industrialists								
Labor organizers								
Business people								
Social workers								
Director of employ- ment office								
Fireman								
Policeman								
Officers of local organizations								
County Agent								
Others								

^a 1. To give vital and realistic experience when excursions are not possible.

2. To help pupils realize that people as well as books are desirable sources of information.

3. To create better understanding of many different types of people and help pupils identify themselves with other people and their problems.

4. To promote social experiences shared by youth and adults to their mutual interest and satisfaction, and so increase mutual respect.

5. To provide opportunity for developing social skills, i.e., letter writing, telephone calls, interviews, introductions, conversations, listening, discussing.

6. To allow adults to learn through experience what teachers are trying to do for pupils.

7. Others (indicate).

INTERVIEWS

Are students given specific instruction in interview techniques? Check interviews used by the class or classes in which interviews were used. Indicate grade or grades by number. Place correct number or numbers in "Purposes" column.

Resource People	Social Studies	Classes in Which Used			Other Classes	Grade	Purpose ^a
		Lang. Arts	Science	Math.			
Early settlers							
Parents							
Recreation director							
Public-health nurse							
City manager							
Conservation officer							
Red Cross worker							
Minister							
Librarian							
Officers of local organizations							
Newspaper editor							
Theater manager							
Farmers							
Industrialists							
Labor organizers							
Business people							
Social workers							
Director of employ- ment office							
Police officer							
Fire chief							
County Agent							
Others							

^a 1. Provide experience in meeting people.

2. Provide opportunity to learn firsthand about occupations.

3. Provide opportunity to get points of view regarding community living and values toward which it may be directed.

4. Provide opportunity to see community processes in operation, and with an adult evaluate human relationships.

5. Others (indicate).

FIELD TRIPS

Do you have a general field study program? Check the types of field trips used in the column representing the class or classes in which they were used. Indicate grade or grades by number. Number "Purpose" from list.

Field Trips (types)	Classes in Which Used					Other Classes	Grade Purpose ^a
	Social Studies	Lang. Arts	Science	Math.			
Industrial or manufacturing plants							
Places of historical interest (museums, sites, etc.)							
Communication centers (newspaper, library, telephone exchange, radio)							
Transportation (airport, bus depot, railway station, etc.)							
Community agencies (fire station, police, hospitals, zoo, parks, courthouse, capitol)							
Natural environment (woods, streams, reforestation, bird sanctuaries, bluffs, etc.)							
Others							

- ^a 1. To serve as a preview to a lesson and to gather instructional material.
2. To create teaching situations for cultivating observation and discovery.
3. To serve as a means of arousing specific interests, as in birds, trees, art productions, historical settings, geographic features.
4. To supplement classroom instruction, definite information for a specific lesson.
5. To verify previous information.
6. Others (indicate).

EXTENDED FIELD TRIPS

These are rather uncommon. If any have been undertaken, so state, and give nature and purposes of such field trips (examples: trip to Washington, D. C., Yellowstone National Park, International Livestock Show).

SURVEYS

Check categories in which surveys have been undertaken. Check class undertaking survey and indicate the grade. Indicate the purpose.

Categories	Social Studies	Classes in Which Used			Other Classes	Grade	Purpose ^a
		Lang. Arts	Science	Math.			
Community setting, founding, and development							
Local government							
Provision for public safety							
Provision for deal- ing with crime							
Workers, wages, and conditions of em- ployment							
Housing, planning, and zoning							
Provision for health care							
Provision for health distribution							
Provision for the handicapped							
Educational re- sources							
Opportunities for recreation							
Religious agencies							
Public assistance							
Others							

- ^a 1. To foster understanding of community structure and processes.
 2. To stimulate better insight into community problems and trends.
 3. To disclose problems which should be met, on the basis of evidence.
 4. To suggest possibilities for student participation in community processes for personal satisfaction and citizenship training.
 5. Others (indicate).

SCHOOL CAMPING

Check the types of camping experiences used by the school and indicate the grades taking part in the camping experiences. Briefly describe the camping program.

Kinds of Camping	Grades Taking Part	Description
Recreational: Activities such as sport, arts and crafts, campcraft		
Health: "Develop strength"—activities for body building, social adjustment, and emotional stabilization		
Work service: Activities such as soil and forest conservation, park improvement, social settlement service		
School camp: Outdoor living—learning activities in biology, nature study, forestry, geology, wildlife, geography, conservation, etc.		
Others		

SERVICE PROJECTS

Check types of service projects undertaken. Indicate class or classes taking part. Indicate grades. Briefly describe the projects.

Type of Service Projects	Classes	Grades	Description
Civic improvement projects: Rat extermination, helping to initiate a housing project, revising bicycle ordinances, planting a community forest, developing a recreation center, etc.			
Consumer welfare projects: Establishing coöperative stores in school, developing credit unions, encouraging extension of rural electrification lines, furthering community understanding of the coöperative movement			
Scientific thinking projects: Research projects to enlighten the public and arouse thinking about community elements—physical setting, population, social processes and problems, agencies and organizations			
Others: Indicate nature and purpose			

WORK EXPERIENCES

Check the kinds of work experience initiated by the school. Indicate the grades and number of pupils participating.

Types of Work Experience	No. of Pupils	Grades	Purpose ^a
Work activities at home			
Part-time jobs			
Group service-work projects			
Individual vocational training			
Others (indicate)			

- ^a 1. To offer occupational orientation and exploratory vocational experience.
 2. To stimulate a healthy attitude toward work.
 3. To deepen civic insight as it brings firsthand contact with varying social-industrial conditions.
 4. To help identify the adolescent with the adult groups through their coöperative effort to meet a real need in a real situation.
 5. To meet a social need as students are progressively inducted into the labor force.
 6. To relate doing with thinking.
 7. Others (indicate).

A P P E N D I X B

The Story of School Reorganization in the Shawano and Gresham Communities

This is the story told by Shawano and Gresham citizens at the University of Wisconsin annual Farm and Home Week in 1953.

INTRODUCTION

BY N. P. CUPERY

During the past thirty years we have witnessed a revolution in rural Wisconsin. Thirty years ago the horse still played an important part in power and transportation. Today the gas engine takes us to town and moves our farm equipment. This new power has enabled us to move much faster, and as a result the world we move in has expanded greatly.

Electricity is no longer a rare item. It lighted our homes and later was followed by a wide variety of appliances, which have brought large city comforts to every crossroad. It also brought the radio, which not only supplied a wide variety of entertainment, but also served as a constant source of valuable information. We have witnessed the birth of television, and it will bring many changes to our lives. Farm Cooperatives were rather rare at that time, but today we have a wide variety of Cooperative Organizations which are serving their members efficiently. They have made contributions to thousands of families which would not have been made if these folks had not banded together.

It would be possible to go on for some time with the elaborate unfolding of the revolution which many of us have watched. We have been living in an extremely interesting and exciting thirty years, although we

have been too busy to appreciate the change that has been taking place right around us. This revolution continues to move along, and we know that the next thirty years will see changes that are even greater than those which have taken place.

Today we are especially interested in education during these changing times. Our public education has developed during this period, but many parents feel that there has been a serious lag in this development. It just has not improved as much as many other phases of modern life. There has been a strong desire to leave things as they have been in our schools, rather than a strong desire to do things better in the light of our present knowledge. In many cases the schools of today have changed very little from the schools you and I attended. This is not the case when we look inside our homes, our machine sheds, or our barns.

Democracy, however, has a way of focusing attention on activities that need to be improved, and during the early forties the neglect of education became more and more apparent. Citizens became increasingly aware of the need for drastic steps to improve our schools. They wanted to bring them back to respectable institutions in their communities.

As a result the 1947 State Legislature passed a reorganization law which has had far reaching effects on education in Wisconsin. This law authorized County Educational Committees, which were given the power of reorganizing education in their counties. Many people felt that these committees were too powerful, and their powers were limited at the next session of the legislature. Although the initial law did promote high blood pressure, and large turnouts at hearings, it also served to pin point educational problems for many people.

The public is much less ignorant of the benefits, as well as the disadvantages of the current change in their districts. There is a growing willingness on the part of parents to sit down and evaluate the possibilities for improved education, which may be available for their children. Parents are spending much more time considering the improvement of education for their children than they did just a few years ago. This willingness and concern has had a healthy effect on schools inside and outside of reorganized areas.

When the Shawano County School Committee was formed, the members began their duties with the assumption that they had work to do. As many of you know, that assumption was not too common among County Committees. As a result of their activity, citizens in our county became acquainted with reorganization very soon after the legislature passed the

law. Many hearings were held, and education was a topic of discussion wherever people came together.

PART I

BY MR. FENTON MUEHL

The activities of the Shawano County School Committee attracted the attention of the members of the Board of Education in the city of Shawano. When meetings were called in the Shawano area they were usually attended by some of the members. Originally the Board of Education did not do anything to encourage reorganization. As the work of the County Committee progressed representative groups from the surrounding areas came to the Board of Education, asking them to take a stand in regard to the area surrounding the city. These folks had sent their children to high school in Shawano for many years, and naturally wanted to continue the practice.

As these groups came in, the Board of Education discussed the problem. The pros and cons were discussed at length, and they finally decided on a course of action. They agreed to welcome areas which were sincerely interested in being attached to the city district. On the other hand, they were also determined not to be aggressive about it, since they believed that would not encourage a good working relationship. When a hearing was held, they wanted the people in the area involved to be in favor of the attachment, and they also wanted the Board members to favor it at the final meeting with the County Committee.

When this policy was made public, citizens in some of the area circulated petitions which they presented to the County Committee. Hearings were held, and these were followed by meetings of the County Committee and the Board of Education. Finally, orders for attachment were issued. Shortly after the first order was issued other districts petitioned and followed the same scheme.

Eventually a total of thirty districts were involved, and some of these had been united before this program was started, so that actually more than thirty districts were involved. The total area included in the district is approximately 200 square miles. The district serves all or part of eight townships, the village of Gresham, and the city of Shawano. At the present time it operates twenty one-room rural schools, one two-room school, grades and high school in Gresham and in Shawano. We have a total enrollment of over 2,200 students.

The year before reorganization, the tax rate varied from no school tax in a district where the school was closed, and the students were transported, to 13 mills in one of the other districts. The tax rate last year was 10.8 mills for the entire district. The total equalized valuation for the district is over \$28,000,000 at the present time. Our costs of operation have compared favorably with other reorganized districts in the state, as well as with communities similar to ours.

Reorganized districts in the state are finding that it is possible to transport students more efficiently in this type of organization. Our per pupil cost of transportation for the past year was considerably below the state average. High school and grade school students can be picked up at the same time, and many times it is possible to eliminate duplication of transportation. Many parents feel that it is good to have them ride together, since the older boys and girls can look out for the safety of the smaller children. We are contracting for eleven buses at the present time, and we have reached a point where very few of our students ride the bus for more than an hour a trip.

Our Board of Education feels that the most important part of a good school is the teacher, and much has been done in our area since reorganization. During the first year of operation the teachers recommended that the Board of Education adopt a single salary schedule for all the teachers in the district. According to this schedule, teachers are paid according to their experience and training, regardless of where they are teaching in the district. They advance automatically on the schedule at the end of each year if their work is satisfactory. This schedule also requires them to attend summer school every two years, if they have not completed four years of training, and once every four years if they have four years of training. Last year over 50 per cent of the teachers completed the equivalent of a summer school's work. During the past two years it has not been necessary to employ permit teachers in our rural schools, when vacancies occurred. Salary schedules, pleasant working conditions, adequate supplies, and help of special teachers are advantages that have attracted rural teachers. During the school year numerous in-service training meetings were held so that there was adequate opportunity to improve and grow on the job.

As members of the Board of Education, we have much more responsibility than we had previously, and initially it was necessary to spend some more time on the job, but the results have been worth it.

PART II

BY MR. ROBERT MUCH

As the new school district in the Shawano area began to take shape, the Board of Education felt that many decisions would have to be made before the new Board of Education would be elected. They wanted the new area to help make these decisions, so that many more people would understand the board's actions. Mr. Ralph Joliffe, of the Department of Public Instruction, suggested that a representative group from the entire district could assist the board in making many decisions, before the new board took office.

The Board of Education decided to follow this suggestion, and asked the board members of each former district to appoint someone to represent them on the Steering Committee, which would advise the Board of Education. As new districts were added, the board members were asked to appoint one member to this committee. The first meeting of this committee was held on March 27, 1950. Several additional meetings were held before the annual meeting in July, and this group has continued to serve as an advisory group to the Board of Education.

At the initial meeting of the Steering Committee, a complete report on teachers salaries was made. The possibility of following a schedule was discussed, and the group decided that each board would hire the teacher for their school for the next year. Employment policies were also discussed, and it was decided that the policies practiced in the city would be followed throughout the area.

The problem of school supplies was also discussed, and the boards agreed to have teachers submit their lists to the Superintendent, so that there would not be any unnecessary duplication. The boards also agreed to bring in their insurance policies and their deeds, so that we would have the necessary information about their property. Later we agreed to transfer our insurance from the companies we were insured with, to the State Insurance Fund.

At our next meeting quite a bit of time was spent discussing transportation in the area. We were informed about the contracts, the routes, the transportation laws, and transportation aids. We felt that the grade school students should be transported on the high school buses, wherever it was possible. We recommended that the buses be operated as near to accepted standards as it was possible to do so in our district.

One of the school districts in the area was going to be split as a result of reorganization. As a result the enrollment would be reduced to a point where it would no longer be practical to continue operating this school. It was also evident, that the remaining students could be transported without difficulty to a nearby school. The group referred this problem to this district school board, and they were asked to make a suggestion about their school at the next meeting of the Steering Committee.

Some of the members were interested in broadening the education in the rural schools, and this subject was considered for some time. The group recommended that the district secure the services of an Art Teacher, a Music Teacher, and a grade school supervisor for the rural schools.

Early in June the County School Committee received a petition from the village of Gresham, and three surrounding rural schools. The committee had previously decided that this area would not be large enough to organize as an independent district, and so they decided that they would prefer to be attached to another district as a unit. It was necessary for the Steering Committee to call two special meetings so that they could consider the attachment of this large area. It was especially difficult because the attachment of this area involved the acceptance of an indebtedness of over \$80,000 for building purposes. At the final meeting the group agreed that this area should become a part of the new district.

The regular meeting in June was a planning meeting for the first annual meeting, which would be held early in July. We discussed the qualifications our new board members should have, and decided that the board should be composed of nine members. It was difficult for us to decide on a plan of election, which would insure representation that was widely distributed. One of the members proposed that four members be selected from the city, and four from rural areas, with the ninth member elected at large.

Two of the rural members were to be selected north of a line running east and west through the district, and two were to be selected from the area south of this line. The budget for the new year was also presented and approved for presentation at the annual meeting.

Our Steering Committee is still in existence, and we have had several meetings each year. Our district would not have been reorganized without the Steering Committee, and we have been able to give valuable service to the school board during the time we have operated.

PART III

BY MRS. LUDMILLA HOFFMAN

The activity on the part of the County School Committee aroused the interest of civic minded people in the village of Gresham. They were proud of their school, and had worked hard to make it a good school. They realized that the school would need additional facilities if it was to serve the area properly. An Agriculture Shop, Milk Testing Room, and Ag. Classroom were built. Later a Gymnasium and classroom were added to the original building, so that it was possible to offer a good high school course.

The County Committee did not feel that we could operate an adequate school independently, and suggested that we decide the change that should be made. We did not want our area divided among neighboring districts, and so decided that our area would become a part of the Shawano district, which was in the process of reorganization. Many changes have taken place in our schools, since we were attached to this district in July of 1950.

In the Gresham School, students have many opportunities which they did not have previously. Vocal Music and Art Instruction are offered under the direction of trained teachers, who also serve the rural schools. Physical Education for both boys and girls is offered in our schools, and our Gymnasium is kept busy all day long. Last year, arrangements were made to have a Speech Correctionist from the Department of Public Instruction visit our district. She examined the students that needed help, and then made suggestions to parents and teachers, but this did not satisfy the need. This year a Speech Correctionist was employed to serve the district. It would not be practical to give service of this type, if our enrollment was not high enough to make it worthwhile.

Reorganization has made it possible to reduce the enrollment in many of our rural schools, as well as reduce the number of grades in many of the schools. At the present time two of our rural schools have only grades 1-4, two have grades 1-5, and six have grades 1-6, instead of the usual 1-8 grade arrangement. Before reorganization two of our schools had enrollments of forty-eight, and several others had enrollments in the upper thirties. At the present time we try to keep our enrollments below thirty, since it is possible for a teacher to do more for her students if the number is not too great.

Our School Nurse has been unusually successful in carrying on a far-

reaching program. During the first year she made plans to test the hearing of all students in the district, with the help of the school audiometer. She realized that she would not have time to carry out this task alone. She called on the Womens Civic Organizations, and they agreed to assist with this worthwhile program. A number of women in these organizations were trained to give these tests, and they spent long hours completing the task. Later a specialist from Madison was called in to help retest those with hearing difficulties. Finally an eye, ear, and nose specialist examined the remaining students and made recommendations to them. Many of these boys and girls have had their difficulty remedied, and they are better students.

The School Nurse also wanted the students to have a thorough examination of their eyes. The school has a telebinocular, but it would again require too much of her time. She did have time to contact local eye, ear and nose specialists and optometrists about her problem. They agreed to cooperate after the plan was established, and they tested all the students who had not had their eyes tested recently. Students went to the doctor they preferred and many are taking steps to correct the weakness they have. It is impossible to estimate the value that corrections of this kind have for growing boys and girls.

Many of the students had not had a dental examination for several years. The dentists were already very busy with their regular work, so that it would be difficult for them to make the observations. A registered dental hygienist was employed to make the necessary examinations and make reports to the parents.

All of this was accomplished, but many other projects were carried on too. Arrangements were made for crippled children to attend the clinic at Green Bay where they were examined and recommendations were made to the parents. Contagious diseases were watched closely and regulations were more strict. Heights and weights were taken twice yearly. Vaccinations for smallpox, Schick tests, diptheria toxoids and tuberculin tests were given under her direction. In the latter case all positive reactors were given X rays. Physical examinations were given to those entering school. Many other activities could be listed, but the above list is of sufficient length to emphasize the possibilities when the district is large enough to employ someone who is trained to handle work of this kind.

PART IV

BY MR. WALTER WIDDIFIELD

Our experience indicates that it is possible to give rural children much more when their schools are part of a larger unit. Many advancements have been made in the short while we have operated as a unit, but it should be possible to make many additional improvements in the very near future. Boys and girls have a right to expect opportunities in education which are common to children in more privileged areas.

Audio-visual education is playing a more important part in our schools than it did a few years ago. In our case Strip Film Machines, Movie Machines and Tape Recorders are available to all the schools in the district. A library of strip films has been started, and they can also secure them from the County bookmobile. Most of the schools have pianos, and all of the schools have radios and record players. An Extension Course in Visual Education was offered, and many teachers attended so that they could learn to use these materials properly.

Boys and girls in the upper grades in Shawano and Gresham were able to have instruction on a band instrument, and now it is possible for rural students to have this training too. Boys in the upper grades should have some opportunity to participate in athletics. In the Shawano area, most of the upper grade pupils attend school in Shawano, where they have an opportunity to participate, and in the Gresham area these boys come in one evening a week.

Our experience indicates that a hot lunch is good for boys and girls, and so we are trying to expand this service. Last year we started serving one rural school in the Gresham area, and another in the Shawano area. We are serving three in the Shawano area this year, and we hope to continue expanding this program. The food is prepared in our kitchens at Shawano and Gresham, and is then transported to the school in insulated containers.

Students who have been able to attend kindergarten get off to a much better start in the first grade than those who have not been able to attend. We had hoped that it would be possible for most all of our five year olds to attend kindergarten. At the present time only five year olds in the Shawano area can attend kindergarten, and we do have a good group of rural students in attendance.

Many of our rural school buildings were in about the same condition they were when they were built. Although we have started a program of

building improvement we have hardly scratched the surface. Several of the buildings do not have basements, have poor lighting, are small and are hard to heat. During the past year ten new automatic heating plants have been installed. Floors have been sanded, walls redecorated, furniture has been added, and roofs have been replaced. Two of the schools are equipped with running water, and we would like to install it in many more.

The Board of Education has also employed a repairman who can be called by the teacher, since all schools are equipped with telephones. When a window is broken, or the stoker breaks down, she can get someone to help her in very short order, so that she can go back to her important job of teaching. Our schools are in excellent repair, because he is constantly on the job fixing little things that can be very important in a rural school.

Like so many other districts in the United States we need additional classroom space too. A little more than a year ago the Board of Education appointed a Citizens Advisory Committee to assist them in determining our educational needs. This group of fifty people represented every area of our district. At the original organization meeting they decided to split up into five subcommittees. The district and population group made a study of the trend in this section of the County, and predicted future enrollments. The Finance Committee studied the financial condition of our school district. The Building Group made a study of our present building. The Educational Program Group examined our present offerings and recommended changes. The Public Information Committee has as its task, informing the public about the problem. The work of these groups will help the Board of Education to act wisely when they begin to provide additional space.

Much more needs to be done, and many of our practices need to be improved. The work of the Board of Education and Administrator is not simplified when reorganization takes place, but the results indicate that the additional effort is not in vain. Actually, educational advancements are not the unique property of schools in reorganized districts, nor is reorganization a guarantee that advancements will occur rapidly. Nevertheless, educational advancement seems to have an encouraging environment in reorganized areas. Apparently, they will bring education up to the level that boys and girls deserve.

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